

ZO PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

*A historical, cultural study and
critical analysis of Zo and its ethnic tribes*

SING KHAW KHAT

AM 0211509 Code I-E-96905260

04 UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

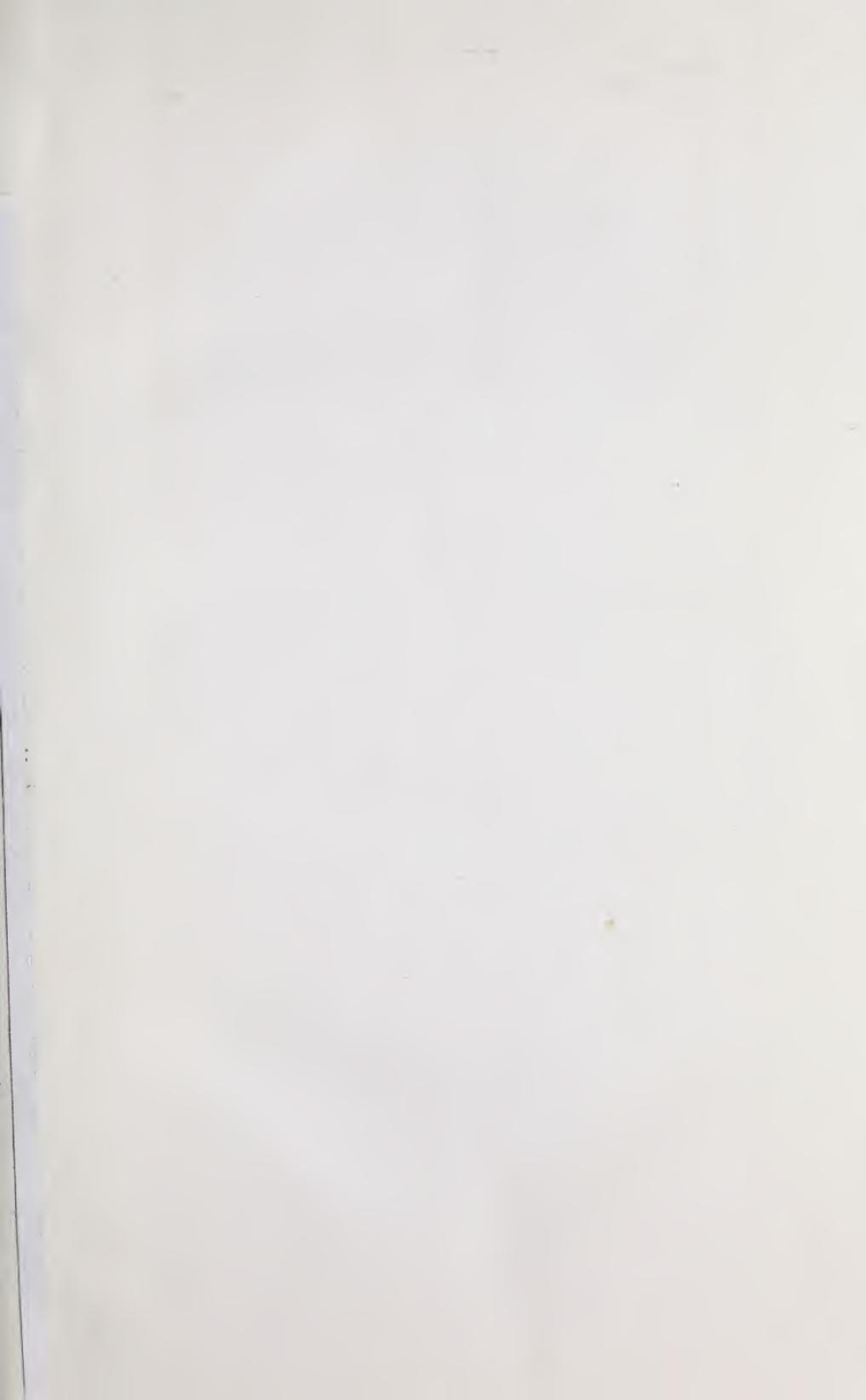
1980 01 01



THE

UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO

LIBRARY





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

ZO PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

*A historical, cultural study and
critical analysis of Zo and its ethnic tribes*

SING KHAW KHAI



Foreword
by
THAN TUN

Published by
KHAMPU HATZAW
New Lamka-G
Churachandpur-795 128, Manipur, India

ZO PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE



© Sing Khaw Khai
First edition, 1995

Printed in India at :

BCPW, 85-PDA Complex, Lamphelpat, Manipur - 795 004

CONTENTS

Foreword
Preface
Introduction

Part One ZO HISTORY

CHAPTER I	Zo People	
(1)	The Peoples and Their Names	1
(2)	Zo Tribal Groups	4
(3)	The Hills-Chin	5
(4)	The Plains-Chin	9
(5)	The Northern Zo	10
(6)	The Tedim Zo	13
(7)	The Lushai Zo	18
(8)	Guite Family	21
(9)	Yo Family	22
(10)	Sukte Family	24
(11)	Sihzang Family	31
(12)	Thado Tribe	32
CHAPTER II	Zo Movements In Burma	
(1)	Zo Entry into Burma	33
(2)	Sak Movements	35
(3)	Chindwin-Zo	38
(4)	Shou Capital	40
(5)	The Northern Route to New Chindwin	42
CHAPTER III	Origin of the Tibeto-Burman Tribe	
(1)	Tibetans	48
(2)	To Tribes	50
(3)	Chi'ang Race	53
(4)	Zo-thang Capital	60
(5)	Origin of the Name "Chin"	66
APPENDIX		
I.	The Adoption of the name Zomi Baptist Convention	69
II.	Ciimnuai Chronology	71
III.	Tables of the Northern Zo Genealogies	74
IV.	Origin Myth From Egg	75
V.	List of the Tedim Clans	76
VI.	Tables of Tedim and Lushai Genealogies	78

Part Two
ZO CULTURE

CHAPTER I	Zo Origin and Concept	
(1)	Zo House	79
(2)	Origin of Zo House	81
(3)	Zo Ethnology	89
(4)	The Concept of Zo	94
(5)	The Cult of Earth	99
(6)	The Cult of Mountaintop	102
CHAPTER II	Zo Cosmic Conception	
(1)	Universe	105
(2)	Darkness and Light	106
(3)	Conception of Dragon	107
(4)	The Lordship of Zo	110
(5)	The Concept of Heaven	112
(6)	The Cult of Pasian	117
(7)	The Belief of Sha	120
(8)	The Belief of Sign	123
CHAPTER III	Zo Concept of Man and His Spirit	
(1)	The Spiritual Man	125
(2)	Concept of Life	128
(3)	Life After Death	130
(4)	Abode of the Deads	133
(5)	The Power of Man	135
(6)	The Power of Spoken Words	137
(7)	The Efficacy of Human Spirit	138
CHAPTER IV	Zo Society	
(1)	The Founding of New Settlements	141
(2)	The Tual State	142
(3)	The Concept of Tual	145
(4)	The Spiritual Foundation	147
(5)	The Social Structure	149
(6)	The Household Council	150
(7)	The Social Codes	151
CHAPTER V	Zo Sacrifice and Worship	
(1)	The Religious System	158
(2)	The Deities of Sacrifice	160

(3) <i>Pusha</i> , the Ancestor-god	161
(4) The Sacrificial Institution	162
(5) The Communal Sacrifice	164
(6) The Zo House Building	169
(7) The Ancestor Sacrifice	174
(8) The Ton' Feast	176
(9) The Household Offerings	180
(10) The Rites of Propitiation	182
(11) The Cultural Feature of Household Rites	182
(12) The Sacred Concept of Zo House	186

APPENDIX

VII. Zo Custom of Divine Rite	190
VIII. Names of <i>Dawi</i> , gods or evil-spirits	193
IX. The Hornbill Emblem	194
X. Zo Sanctuary	195

Bibliography Appreciation

FOREWORD

Sing Khaw Khai is a retired captain of the Burma Army. He was for sometime a Central Committee Member of the Burma Socialist Programme Party. He is now Pastor, Chin Baptist Church, Yangon. As a student at the Myanmar Institute of Theology, he submitted a dissertation in 1984 under the title of **The Theological Concept of Zo in the Chin Tradition and Culture**. He revised it thoroughly and added more information. As a result we have now this work entitled **Zo People and Their Culture**.

Zo are of one and single people spread in many places and each locality uses one different dialect. All available source material consists of oral tradition, comparative language study, observations made by earlier Chinese officers and recent scholars and at several points one account contradicts another. Collecting and correlating such material and using them to write a succinct and cohesive cultural and historical account on these people is indeed a very hard task. We thank Sing Khaw Khai very much for having done this admirable work. We are with him like everybody else to accept that Myanmar and Zo are Tibeto-Burmans. However a suggestion that they were of tribe that split into two later is rather important that we need more evidence. For archaeological investigations we shall have to wait several more decades as the people in that field are very slow at work and probably because of that they are also very reluctant to report what they had done or how they did it or what they had discovered. Their last report is dated 1964. There were various studies on Tibeto-Burmans and Sing Khaw Khai uses all of them but he draws his own conclusions which are quite sound. In oral traditions there are distortions but he has, I believe, a special sense to detect them. On cultural and kinship his study is even more interesting. He puts all information classified and weighs all evidence to discern facts from fiction. He has done his work admirably well and I would not hesitate to recommend it to all interested readers on Chin people and their history and culture.

Yangon
8 March 1994

Than Tun, M.A., B.L., Ph.D. (London), D.Lit. (London)
Retired Professor of History, Mandalay University,
Member, Myanmar Historical Commission

PREFACE

Becoming a Christian is to become a witness to the true God. This thought reminded me of the need to have some theological knowledge to be able to share my faith with my colleagues of non-Christians in the secular field of my occupation. While working at the Headquarters of the Burma Socialist Programme Party (B.S.P.P.), I started in 1979 attending the evening theological class arranged by the Burma Institute of Theology (now Myanmar Institute of Theology), Insein, designed for Christian lay-workers. Like other students I was required to submit a paper for the degree of Bachelor of Religious Education (B.R.E.). This offered me a golden chance to write on the Zo tradition and culture in comparison with the Old Testament tradition. I took this opportunity as an unprecedented privilege and honour and was well pleased with doing it. Before completing my course work, I was transferred to the Chin State Regional Party Committee as its Secretary, at Haka, the capital of Chin State, in 1980. I was granted an extra-ordinary privileges to carry on my course work away from Yangon and I completed it in 1982. As the B.R.E. course was allowed to be completed within five years, I spent the full term in doing more research works and preparing the paper. I had put into this paper a lot of hard work. I had done it outside of my office hours and every minute that could be spared was used in it so that I could submit it only in 1984 with the title, **The Theological Concept of Zo in the Chin Tradition and Culture**.

Some students of theology who read the paper encouraged me to have it published. Not satisfied with what I had done as yet, I started revising it after my graduation from the Seminary. The revision done along with my pastoral works and the changed situation of Myanmar postponed its publication. I do not pretend to be a scholar nor do I claim that my statements are derived from facts acceptable to historians. I admit that my derived conclusions are an assumed truth, subject to further investigation by those enthusiasts of Zo history and culture. I hope and pray that this work may be an incentive for the students of the field to make more research and study, for which I should say my labour was not in vain.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My dissertation, might have not been completed, had it not been for the help I received from my well-wishers. I owe great debt to Rev. Sukte T. Hau Go, the first General Secretary of Zomi Baptist Convention (ZBC) for having had my materials of Zo folksongs translated, and to Rev. Edmund Za Bik, a lecturing staff (B.I.T.) in the preparation of my paper. I could not help mentioning the names of those who had given me kind help in one way or another. They are Rev. David Van Bik, a former ZBC

General Secretary, Rev. Thang Kaam, Pastor of my native Church (Khuano Baptist Church), and U Khual Cin Kam, a staff in the Foreign Ministry of the Union of Myanmar. I am also indebted greatly to the Myanmar Institute of Theology for giving me the idea of theology without which my work would not have been accepted. I owe the same gratitude to BSPP Headquarters for allowing me a free access to its Library whenever I liked to hunt for the materials I needed.

Now, again, **Zo People and Their Culture**, the revised form of my dissertation would not have come up unless encouraged and helped by its enthusiasts. May I first extend my heart-felt thank to Miss Fontana, Faculty of Theology, Oxford, London, to whom I sought advice and who gave me her sincere comment on my dissertation that the revision takes heed of her guidance.

Particularly, I owe an intellectual debt to Dr. Than Tun, former Professor of History, Arts and Sciences University, Mandalay, for his impatient reading over the manuscript and his guidance in dealing with the unwritten history of the Zos. May I extend my respect and honour to him for his unceasing encouragement to Zo students of history to write on their own history and culture.

I am more indebted to Robert Biak Cin, the then Programme Officer, Education, UNICEF, Yangon, and to U C. Thang Za Tuan, Principal of the Teachers Training College, Pathein, for their close attention to the writing. I could not find words so adequate to relate my deep thank to Rev. Khup Za Go who has taken my work into his own concern and enthusiastically involved in preparing it in the book form. The same feeling of gratitude I owe to Khampu Hatzaw who takes the burden of financing and the bulky responsibility to produce the paper in a book. And, also, I should not forget to mention my thank to K. Thang Kho Pau of New Lamka for his contributions to my work his drawings, "Zo Religious Shrines", and "A Precut showing Zo House under the roof and its compound facing west".

Sing Khaw Khai

INTRODUCTION

The people of whom this work is being referred are an indigenous race of the Union of Myanmar (Burma) known to outside as Chin but who identified themselves as Zo. The large population of Zo (Chin) ethnic people occupies the north-western mountains of Myanmar, separating Myanmar from India in the north and Bangladesh in the south. Therefore, the country was formerly called Chin Taung in Burmese and Chin Hills in the English literature. The Chin Hills lie between latitude 24° in the north and latitude 21°45' on the south and between longitude 94°5' on east and 93°20' on the west. The tract, which forms a parallelogram, is stretching from north to south in 250 miles while its breadth varies from 100 to 150 miles, covering an area of 13902 sq. miles. It consists of a much broken and consorted mass of mountains, intersected by deep valleys and utterly devoid of plain and table land.

Before the British occupation, the Hill Chins lived separately and independently in tribal groups under their respective tribal Chiefs. Under the British rule of Myanmar, the Hill Chins were administered as a part of the Province of Myanmar and constituted a scheduled district. When Myanmar gained her independence in 1948, they were grouped into a political unit and their habitation was given the name Chin Special Division. This name was changed into Chin State by the constitution of the 'Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma' in 1973. Chin State is now constituted by nine townships, namely, Tonzang, Tedim, Falam, Haka, and Thantlang in the north and Mindat, Kanpetlet, Matupi, and Paletwa in the south, with a total population of some 390000 as at 1994.

Their historical movements indicate that Zo ancestors had lived a nomadic mode of historical existence, and they did not have the chance to adopt or to be assimilated to alien cultures. Even after their permanent settlement in the present hills, they kept on living within their own tradition and culture. Buddhism which had flourished in the Central Plains of Myanmar since the eleventh century A.D. did not radiate its light to the Chin Hills. It was only in 1899 that a white-face man named Rev. Arthur Carson with his wife Laura Carson came, introducing Christianity to the Chin Hills. Rev. Dr. Eric Hjalmar East baptized the first Hill Chin converts - Thuam Hang and Pau Suan of Khuasak in Tedim area, in 1905. Now more than half of the population became Christians.

The Christian mission work placed great emphasis on education, literating and articulating the illiterate Zos. The work brought about a far reaching effect upon the future development of the Hill Chins, particularly the Northern Chins. After independence the Government of the Union of Myanmar, too, continued the policy of educating the Hill Chins and opened more school every year. More and more young Zos

continued their further studies at Universities and graduated. There had been in the Chin State over one thousand and three hundred graduates as at 1982 in various vocations not including graduates in theology. In Falam area alone thirty three graduates were with Master Degree and above. The Hill Chins, who were once looked on as 'wild and brute' have been now on equal footing with the other racial groups of the Union in respect of education. Most of the Zo graduates entered into government service and have been taking equal responsibility for the Union with the so-called 'civilized low-land people'. No authority could deny that Christianity was the spiritual light which enlightened Zo primitive thinking and had led them to modern civilization.

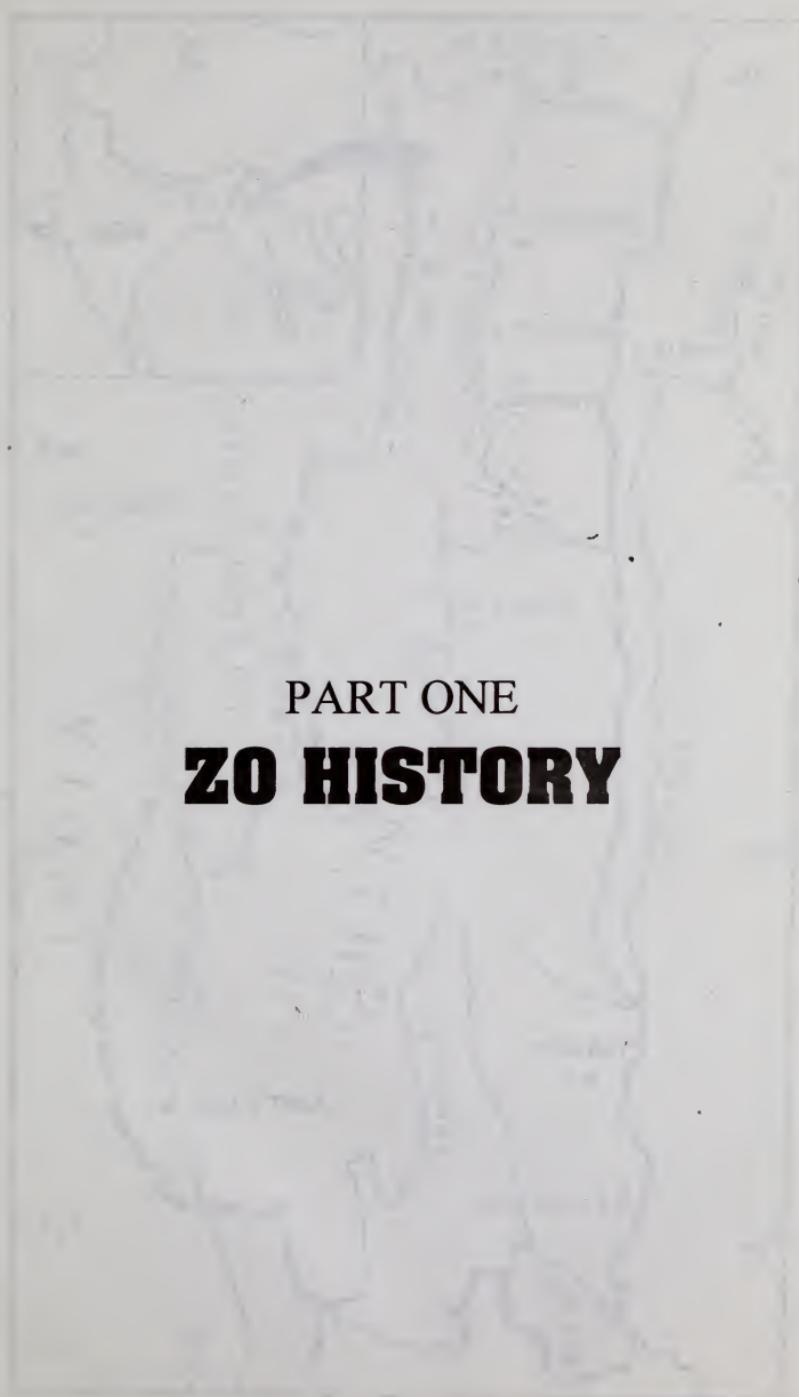
Zo people were primitive because their tradition and culture were primal in history. The purpose of this work has been to dig up the depth of the past and to identify the primitive ideal that once held together Zo people into an organic whole. It looks as if Zo people were without history, because their language was unwritten. Even the history of the Hill Chins beginning only in the sixteenth century A.D. still remains legendary. F. Max Muller, often called 'the father of religions', state that particularly in the early history of human intellect, there existed a most intimate relationship between language, religion, and nationality (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15:629). This wise insight was taken as the theoretical reference and method in tracing and reconstructing the history of Zo which had been kept alive in the cultural life of the Zo people, even if such history may look like a legendary one.

The subject has been approached from the perspective of Zo tradition, how it was handed down, how the most essential elements were preserved in the memory and practice of the past, and how it still influences the spiritual life of the Zo people today. The points which are considered to be most unique are compared with other ancient cultures wherever deemed parallel. The most unique elements are shown in separate sheets as Appendix. Parallel culture terms having the same pronunciation and idea are treated as relevant fact and are analyzed and weighed with available historical materials. The term Zo itself seems to be quite relevant to be employed as the guide to its own origin. The term is an etymological reality embodying an ideal image that made Zo primal society a living organism. It looks like a spiritual symbol that distinguishes the Zo character of paganism from the common understanding of primal religion. Hence the title **Zo People and Their Culture** is given to this work.

The author would like to make it clear that the concepts and beliefs presented in this paper are not just his own derivation or speculation, but are inherent with the cultural life of the Zo people, handed down from times immemorial, in the form of myths, legends, proverbial sayings. It is, therefore, his humble attempt to re-arrange those elements of tradition and culture and formulate them to be understandable to its readers. Instances given as reference are mostly taken from the Tedim source as the author is more familiar with it. He contends that though diverse in cultural practices, all Zo languages commonly share the same concept and belief of Zo tradition and culture.

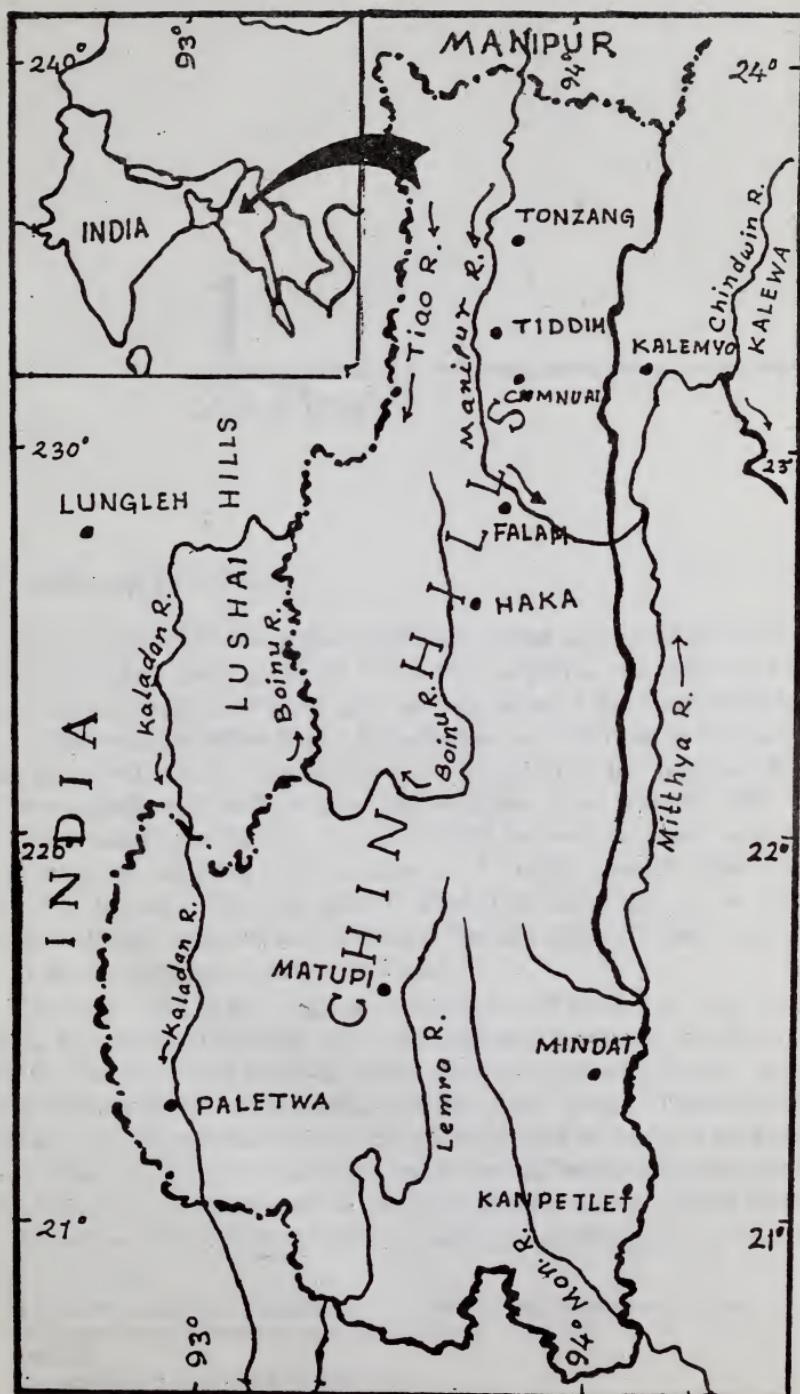


NGULH KHAI IN HIS TRIBAL ATTIRE



PART ONE

ZO HISTORY



Map of Chin Hills

1

Zo People

The Peoples and Their Names

The administrative officials of the British Government had carried out researches into the history of their newly colonized hill country of Burma, and they found the same ethnic groups of people in different areas speaking different dialects and bearing various names. They were the tribes known to the Indians as KUKI and in Burma as CHIN. When the British officers came up to the hills to administer the 'unadministered area' they conveniently employed the term Chin to christen those 'wild hill tribes'. Shortly after their annexation of the hills, the name CHIN duly won the royal recognition, and was subsequently legalized to be the name for the newly adopted subjects by Queen Victoria of England. Thus the name CHIN-HILLS came into use in 1896 as an administrative unit within the British Empire. The term Chin Hills thus originally meant the hill country being populated by the Chins.

The term KUKI is an Assamese or Bengali word applied to such hill tribes as Lushais, Rangkhols, Thados, etc. who were residing within India¹. On the other hand, CHIN is a Burmese word which is used to denote all various hill tribes, living in the country between Burma and the provinces of Assam and Bengal.² The words KUKI and CHIN are thus synonymous and are both primarily used for many of the hill tribes in general. Therefore, the word Kuki-Chin was coined and employed by early researchers for the linguistic term to represent all Chin-type tribes within and without Burma. *Chin Hills Regulation*, 1896 defines 'Chins' as including Chins living in Chin Hills, Lushais, Kukis, and Nagas.³

1. G.A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol.III; Part III; "Specimens of the Kuki-Chin and Burma Groups" (Calcutta:Government Printing Press, 1904), 126.

2. Ibid., 1,2.

3. The name Naga is inserted by Regulation II of 1917.

The name Kuki or Chin was not known to the people themselves who were called by those names. The Census of India 1931 records forty four tribes or dialects as Chin speakers, of whom no one bears the name 'Chin' or the like. The word either Chin or Kuki has no meaning to the people. So Carey and Tuck, who were the first hands to place Chin people under modern system of administration record as thus: "Those of the Kuki tribes which we designate as 'Chins' do not recognize that name".⁴ Those Kuki-Chin people were none other than those tribal groups speaking variedly the Burmese branch of Tibeto-Burman language.

Kuki-Chin people bear different names, almost all of which were obviously given by their neighbours with reference to how they saw and knew them. Some names were given in an abusive or degrading sense. For instance, *Chinbok*, a group of Cho in Kanpetlet area, means "rotten". Inspite of this, some words are still preserved as their own names. These are Khami or Khumi in Paletwa area, Lai in the central part of the present Northern Chin, Cho in the Kanpetlet area, and Sho or Asho in the plains. The Tedims (Tiddims) call themselves Zomi and the Lushais call themselves Mizo where the common word *mi* in both names means man or people. The Mirams(Lakher) also call themselves Zao,⁵ and a tribal group now occupying the northern part of Matupi township call themselves Zotung. The Aochungli, a Kuki-Chin group in the Naga Hills, are more exact in referring to themselves as *Ozo*⁶ which probably means 'We' as against 'They' in the same tradition as the Central Chin Tribes of former Chin Hills call themselves Lai (We) as against Khual (Outsiders or Strangers). The Hakhas and their relatives who now call themselves Lai, too, are said to have originally called themselves Zo.⁷ A village near the present Falam town is Laizo and another village some twenty miles to the east of Hakha town is also Zokhua. The Zahaus in Falam area consider their clan name to have been after the name of their ancestor Za Hau. Regarding this name, Grierson states, "It is probable that the Zahaos like the Lusheis and many of the Northern Chin tribes is probably Zo".⁸ Their clan origin myth pictures Zahau more like a legendary figure rather than an historical one. Evidences as such given above seem to have led Grierson to conclude "The name (Chin) is not used by the tribes themselves who use titles such as Zo or Yo or Sho".⁹

Relating to this generic name, Capt. Thomas Herbert Lewin, B.S.C., Deputy Commissioner, Chittagong Hills, state in his *INTRODUCTION to Progressive Colloquial Exercises in the Lushai Dialect of the 'Dzo' or Kuki LANGUAGE, with Vocabularies and Popular Tales (annotated)*, Calcutta, 1874, states as follows:

The word Kuki is a foreign to the different dialects of the hill tribes, the nearest approach to it being the 'Dzo' term for the Tipra tribe, which is called by them

4. Bertram S. Carey and H.N.Tuck, *The Chin Hills* 2 Vols. (Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1896), 1:3.
5. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 126.
6. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, , Vol. III, Part II, "Bodo, Naga and Kachin group" (Calcutta: Superintendent of Printing Press, INDIA, 1909), 291
7. F.K. Lehman, *The Structure of Chin Society* (Urbana : The University of Illinois Press, 1963), 30.
8. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 5.
9. Ibid., 2.

"Tui-kuk ". The 'Dzo' tribes inhabit the hilly country to the east of the Chittagong district in lower Bengal.¹⁰

U Thein Pe Myint, a well-known Burmese writer, who knew Chin history, perhaps, better than the Chins themselves do, gives a remark as this:

Even though the people who are called Chin do not necessarily protest their name, their true name, in fact, is Zomi or Mizo¹¹

Regarding the same case, what F.K.Lehman states deserves to be mentioned as follows: "No single Chin word has explicit reference to all the peoples we customarily call Chin, but all - or nearly all - of the peoples have a special word for themselves and those of their congeners with whom they are in regular contact. This word is almost always a variant form of a single root, which appears as Zo, Yo, and the like."¹²

As the local Christian Churches in Chin Hills (now Chin State) grew in size and the foreign missionary work was restricted, the need for forming a purely Christian organization, bearing a national title, arose. Ten Leaders each from the Tedim, the Falam, and the Hakha Baptist Associations were then selected to draft a constitution for the new Christian organization with S.T. Hau Go, a retired Pastor as its Chairman of the constitution drafting committee. The Baptist convention held in 1953 at Saikah village in Thantlang township unanimously adopted, on the recommendation by the constitution drafting committee, Zomi to be the national title for the new Baptist organization. Hence ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION.¹³ After thirty years have elapsed, the question arose as to whether the national title Zomi needed be reviewed to conform to the changing situation of the political context of Burma. The case was brought to the Triennial meeting held at Thantlang town in April 1983. It was taken up on April 16, and after being discussed by five prominent speakers from the five dominant Associations, the proposal was put to the vote. Out of 434 delegates, 424 voted for the affirmation of the title. Rev. James Tial Dum, who presided over the session, declared that the title Zomi remained unchanged.¹⁴

Regardless of their choice the Zo people in Burma had borne the name CHIN. So also along the course of their migrations, other tribes of Zo people, too, adopted various names which they humbly accepted even though those names were originated as terms of abuse. However, those names thus adopted may not necessarily refer to their ethnical or cultural differences from each other but rather they may refer to the distinctiveness and the unique nature of their ethnical and cultural identity in relation to the established order of the land in which they arrived, to which they belonged, and in which they were absorbed as a distinct unit of the the social community of their respective nations.

The Zomis are, therefore, those ethnic or linguistic, or cultural groupings of people who had commonly inherited the history, the tradition and culture of Zo as their legacies,

10. Rev. Khup Za Go, *Chin Chronicles* (Churachandpur : L & R Printing Press, 1988) 167-168.

11. U Thein Pe Myint, *Chin Withitha Taing thamaing Asa* (Rangoon : Burma Translation Society, 1967), 127.

12. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 3.

13. See Appendix I "The Origin of the Name Zomi Baptist Convention."

14. Personal interview with Rev. Thang Kam, the then President of Tedim Baptist Association on April 19, 1983 at the author's residence in Hakha.

irrespective of the names they adopted and the culture to which they adapted later. Now the term spelt as CHIN has become to denote a particular group of people having a social identity in relation to the historical development of a new NATION called the Union of Burma. In other words, the name CHIN expresses its true meaning only in relation to the historical community of Burma.

Zo Tribal Groups

Authors on Zo (Chin) variously classify Zo languages. According to G.A. Grierson, the Kuki-Chin languages are divided mainly into Meithei and Zo (Chin) languages. And again, the Zo languages are divided into sub-groups as the Northern, the Central, the Old Kuki, and the Southern. The Northern Group, according to him, includes the Thado, Sukte, Siyin (Sihzang), Ralte, and Paite whereas the Central Group is represented by the Tashon, Lai, Lakher (Miram), Lushai (Mizo), Bangjogi, and Pankhu. The Old Kuki includes the Rangkhol, Bete, Hallam, Langrong, Aimol, Anal, Chiru, Hiroi-Lamgang, Koiren, Kom, Purum, Hmar, and Cha. The Southern Group is represented by the Chinme, Welaung, Chinbok, Yindu, Chinbon, Khyang or Sho, and Khami or Khumi.¹⁵

A more detailed study into Kuki-Chin languages was made in 1931 and forty four separate languages were recorded as belonging to Kuki-Chin group.

These were:-

1. Kathe (Meithei or Meitei)	23. Tamang
2. Kyaw	24. Miram
3. Thado (Pronounced Thah-do)	25. Zolamnai
4. Siyin (Sihzang)	26. Torr (Thawr)
5. Sokte (Sukte)	27. Ta-oo
6. Kamhow (Kamhau)	28. Mgan (Makan)
7. Yo (or Zo)	29. Welaung
8. Tahson (Tai-sun)	30. Chinbok
9. Yahow (Zahau)	31. Yindu (Zindu-Dai)
10. Laizo	32. Chinme
11. Kwangli (Khuangli)	33. Chinbon
12. Ngorn (Ngawn)	34. Taunghtha
13. Lushei	35. Sho
14. Whelngo (Hualngo)	36. Khami
15. Lyente (Lente)	37. Anu
16. Zanhnyet (Zanniat)	38. Kaungtso
17. Lai	39. Kaukadan
18. Lakher (Miram or Mara)	40. Ledu
19. Lawhtu (Lauk-tu)	41. Matu
20. Kwelshim (Khualsim)	42. Sittu
21. Zotung	43. Chaunggyi Chin
22. Sentang (Senthang)	44. Saingbaung ¹⁶

15. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1-2.

16. Captain J. H. Green, *Census of India, 1931* Vol. XI, Part I, A report by I.J. Bennison, 'A note on the Indigenous Races of Burma' (Rangoon: governing Printing Press, 1931), 198.

Of these languages, Kyaw or Chaw is regarded as typical of Old Kuki and they are a small tribe living on the banks of the Kaladan river in the Paletwa area in the South. The Taungthas were practically confined to the Pakkoku area; most of them were in the Htilin and Saw townships, but there were also a few in Gangaw area. Their speaking dialect is closely related to that of the Northern, particularly to Lai.¹⁷

The Chin Special Division Act, 1948 adopted the British definition of Zo (Chin) as in the *Chin Hills Regulation*, 1896 in which Zo include Lusheis, Kukis, and Nagas, too. But later in 1957, this definition was amended where Zo was re-interpreted as those of the citizens of Burma who settled down within the Chin Special Division.¹⁸ The need for an amendment may have been caused by political and legal necessity, but it does not affect the original meaning of its racial affinity. Thus apart from these Kuki-Chin languages, Zo tribal groups include the Nagas, too.

Lehman draws a boundary between the Northern and Southern on the basis of cultural and social system within the hills. The Northern refers to the areas of former Northern and Central in the 1904 *Linguistic Survey*, and it comprises nearly all the Zos of Hakha, Falam, and Tedim areas, and also the Lushai and Lakher (Miram) on the Assam side. The Southern Zos include the peoples of Kanpetlet (including Mindat), Paletwa, and Matu areas. The cultural boundary lies between the Matu country and Zotung country, the latter being within the Hakha cultural area. He makes the distinction between the Northern and the Southern by the fact that the Southern type has a relatively poor material culture and simple social structure where the Northern type is more elaborate on both counts.¹⁹ He excludes most of the peoples known as Kuki in the Chittagaung Hills Tracts, Assam, Manipur, and Tripura for their social organization is very much like that of the Southern Zo.²⁰ This contrast between the Northern and the Southern as indicated by the seniority in history in terms of cultural and social systems can be taken as a guiding principle in the determination of the Kuki-Chin chronology. So it can be concluded that the Southern Zo represent Old Kuki-Chin, and the Northern Zo represent the New Kuki-Chin in the general classification of Zo peoples.

The Hills Chin

The present townships of Tonzang, Tedim, Falam, Hakha, and Thantlang represented the area to which the administrative rules called *Chin Hills Regulation* 1896 were first applied. This area, the *Imperial Gazette of India* refers to as somewhat like the Chin Hills proper. It was only when the Regulation was extended to embrace the Kanpetlet area in the South that the former Chin Hills came to be referred to as Northern. This fact supported by the history of the Chindwin Chin suggests that the Northern Zo primarily represented the Chin proper in origin. It was, perhaps, Grierson who collected and brought together all Zo related tribes into a people under the racial name CHIN. Regarding this, Lehman's comment on the Northern Zo deserves to be mentioned as follows:

17. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, s.v. "Kuki-Chin Group".

18. "Chin Special Division Amendment Act," 1957 (Act No. L. of 1957).

19. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 14.

20. *Ibid.*

The large population of the modern Northern Chin, the extent of their area of occupation, the relative homogeneity of their cultures and languages, and the volume of literature concerning them apparently made them a standard of comparison in the determination of what is "representatively Chin" and what is not.²¹

Another source seems to be more specifical in describing "Chin" as follows; "Chin, a group of tribes of Mongoloid race, occupying the southern most part of a mountain range, separating Burma from Assam, numbering about 26000 in the late 1950s. They are closely related to the Lushai (q.v) to the West, the Haka and Lakher tribes to the south and the Kuki to the north. Their history traceable to about AD 1600 is a long sequence of tribal wars and feuds".²² According to these statements, it looks as if the peoples of the present areas of Tedim and Falam, formerly called the Central Chin Tribes by H.C.N. Stevenson, represented the Chin proper. They were the tribes, coming from the Kale-Kabaw Valley and making their settlements in the present hills in about the sixteenth century A.D.

Lehman states that the Zos were certainly in the present Southern Zo area for an indefinite time before the Burman occupation of the Yaw drainage by the twelfth century A.D. He supposes that the Northern Zo may have its origins in an explosion of population, possibly starting about the sixteenth century. He places the linguistic centre of Zo dispersal somewhere well south within the present Zo area. The present Northern Zo languages came in with this new population.²³ He ascribes the more elaborate type of the northern social structure to a long history of direct and stable contact with the civilized peoples of the lowland: Kadu, Burman, and Shan. A passage of Lehman's statements is worthwhile to mention in order to be able to reflect the political context of Chindwin by the twelfth century A.D. as follows:

The places mentioned in old Burmese and the modern place names in the Chindwin Valley, however, suggest to Luce (1959b) that the Chin were left to themselves in the Upper Chindwin. No places above Monywa are mentioned in the inscriptions. By the twelfth century the Burmans had occupied the Yaw and Kyaw valleys abutting on the Southern Chin Hills where, to judge by more recent conditions, they could not have failed to be in contact with the Chin of the Southern Hills²⁴

According to this statement, there is reason to say that the Northern Zo contact with the 'civilized people in the lowland' would begin after the twelfth century. But, again, this trend of thought would be in contradiction with the statement that Zo history begins after A.D. 750, with the development of Burman civilization and of Zo interaction with it.²⁵ It seems to follow that the Northern Zo came to Chindwin from some other place with the more elaborate type of cultures and social system.

The contrast between the Northern and the Southern Zo is greater in some respect of cultural practices. The most significant one is the rite of dealing with the dead. Where the Northern buries, the Southern burns it. The custom of face-tattooing is practised in

21. Ibid., 20.

22. *Encyclopaedia Britanica* (Micropaedia), s.v. "Chin"

23. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 18.

24. Ibid., 20.

25. Ibid., 22.

the South, but this practice is absent in the North. The Northern culture is basically patterned on megalithic cult which is less significant in the South. Did this cultural differentiation take place after Zo dispersal from the Southern Hills? A brief study of the history of the Chindwin Chin may possibly throw some light on the cultural and linguistical differentiation among the Kuki-Chin peoples.

Professor G.H. Luce treats the words *Khyan* and *Yaw* in Old Burmese without their tonal marks as if they were correlative of each other in representing a people of Pagan period. In the Pagan inscriptions *Khyantwan* and *Khlantwan* occurs more than once in a geographical sense with reference to the valley rather than the river.²⁶ *Yaw* and *Yaw-U* are also used in a geographical sense as in "entering-in of *Yaw*".²⁷ This literary usage of Old Burmese has led most authors on Zo to treat all Zo languages as if they were all branched out from the Chindwin Chin and were propagated from the Chindwin Valley. The Chindwin river is also considered to have got its name after the region through which it flows. But no one ever seems to think the case conversely.

Chindwin as a place name is mentioned in Pagan inscription beginning in the thirteenth century A.D. There is also persistent reference in the legends of all the Northern Chins and the Lushais (Mizo) to a former home in Chindwin. Pagan record is thus found to coincide with what the Northern Chin traditions commonly say. Fan Ch'o, a Chinese historian of Tang dynastic period, wrote a book entitled *Manshu* (History of Nanchao) in which he mentions the contending peoples of Burma in the early part of the ninth century A.D. These were *Manak* (pronounced *Mi-no*), *Tircul*, and *Mi-Ch'en*. Luce takes *Tircul* for Pyu and *Mi-Ch'en* for Mon. He identifies the *Mi-no* as Chin on the ground that what Fan Ch'o describes as *Mi-no chiang* (*Mi-no* river) corresponds to the Chindwin river. Fan Ch'o distinguishes the *Mi-no* kingdom with the fact that the *Mi-no* people called their princes and chiefs *shou*.²⁸

The royal title *shou*, indeed, strikingly resembles *sho* by which the plains Chin designate themselves. And also the cultural pattern of the *Mi-no* king's palace does really demonstrate an identical feature with the Tedim *song* (pillar) set up in the middle of the courtyard as the mark of sacrifice to ancestral spirits. Who had represented the ethnology of the *Mi-no* people who called their king *shou*? Were these people ancestral to Chin? All this could lead one to say that the history of Zo people as Chin began from Chindwin.

Fan Ch'o makes it clear that the *Mi-no* people who called their princes and chiefs *shou* had been somewhere in Chindwin since before 835 A.D. So there is fair reason to say that if Chin was of the same stratum with the *Mi-no* people, then Chin must have been in Chindwin since before the ninth century A.D. But what is peculiar is that the table of the older residents of Kale-Kabaw Valley does not include a people with the name *Khyan* (Chin) or the like. On the other hand, Grant Brown, the author of *Upper Chindwin Gazette* records the Kale legend as saying that about the beginning of the Burmese era (i.e., AD 639), the capital Yazagyo was destroyed by the Manipuris and Chins, and a new seat was chosen at Theinnyin with the assistant of Mohnyin Sawdwa²⁹. So it looks as if Chin came to Kale-Kabaw Valley much later than the Sak, the Kantu,

26. Gordon H. Luce, "Note on the people of Burma in the 12th-13th Century A.D." *Journal of Burma Research Society (JBRs)*, 1959: 60.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Prof. Gordon H. Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma*, Vol. 1. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 1.

29. G.E.R. Grant Brown, *Burma Gazette Upper Chindwin District*, Vol.A (Rangoon : Government Printing press, Reprinted, 1960), 8.

the Ingye, etc. who are mentioned in the Kale chronicle as the aboriginal tribes.³⁰ All this tends to conclude that the name Chin was either a later appellation to the Zo people or had represented a stratum of Zo people before their coming into Chindwin. According to this literary context, there is a great contrast between Shou and Chin in chronology of existence in Chindwin Valley. The seniority of Shou in its historical appearance in Chindwin seems to be in agreement with the seniority of the Southern Zo as indicated by the pattern of their cultures and social systems. So, according to the historical picture of Chindwin in the thirteenth century A.D., it seems that there were two strata of a people to be called Zo and Chin. In that event, the Zo group would have been represented by the Old Kuki-Chins and the Chin group would have been represented by the New Kuki-Chins typically the Northern Zo as classified by Lehman. The Old Kuki-Chin would include the Southern Chin who called themselves Sho or Cho. So it is reasonable to conclude that the words *Yaw*, *Saw*, *Kyaw* or *Chaw* were the variants of Shou or Zo which had represented the ethnology of Chindwin before Chin occupation of the Valley. This also points to the fact that Sho or Zo was the word by which the people designated themselves and Khyan or Chin was Pagan appellation to a stratum of Zo people in a much later time.

If the river Chindwin got its name after the name of the place through which it flows, then the general area of Chindwin may have covered all areas along and around the Chindwin river above Monywa. When the Burmese Script was invented and used in describing Chin, the place of Chin settlement is given to a specific area: "Chin Taung". A piece of Pagan inscriptions reads, "The people living on the mountains in the west are ascribed as Khyan".³¹ The reference to as "the mountains in the west" (probably of Pagan or Central Burma) may have referred to the general area including the Yaw and Saw areas at the foot of the southern Chin mountains, without 'ecological distinction'. This area corresponds to what Lehman describes as the 'linguistic centre of Chin dispersal'.

Regarding the ethnic affinity of Yaw, another non-Chin source deserves to be mentioned. Father Sangermano, a Roman Catholic missionary, came to Burma in 1783 A.D. and he prepared a book entitled *A description of the BURMESE EMPIRE* in which he makes mention of a nation called JO. His statement runs as follows: "To the east of Chien mountains between $20^{\circ}30'$ & $21^{\circ}30'$ north latitude, is a petty nation called Jo. They are supposed to have been Chien, who in progress of time have become Burmese, speaking their language, although very corruptly, and adopting all their customs".³²

Now it has been clear that the place name Yaw as inscribed in Pagan Chronicle lies outside the Chindwin proper. But, the people coming from the Yaw area and living on the nearby mountains had been called Chien or Khyan by the time the name was inscribed. This fact suggests that the people known as Chin to the Pagan court had occupied the present hills since before the thirteenth century A.D. This chronological context further suggests that Chin Hills was founded by those who called their king *shou*.

30. Ibid.

31. *Encyclopaedia Britanica* (Macropaedia), 15:629.

32. Reverend Father Sangermano, *A Description of the BURMESE EMPIRE*, translated by William Tandy, DD, (Rome : Parbury, Allen and Co. MDCCC XXXIII, reprinted at Government Press, Rangoon, MDCCCLXXXV), 35.

or *sho* or *zo* or *cho*. Hence CHO, being the racial name of those who first made their settlement in the areas of the present Kanpetlet and Mindat in the Southern Hills.

There is no clear evidence indicating the date of Zo settlement in Chin Hills. If the Northern Zo found their origins in a population explosion, the old tribes of Zo people may have been forced to flee the Yaw area due to a marked change at the foot of the hills. In all probabilities, this marked change would have been the extension of Pagan influence to the west in the twelfth century A.D.³³ This follows to conclude that the Chindwin Shou or the Mi-no people were the tribes who first cleared the jungles of Zo mountains.

The Plains Chin

Those Chin ethnic tribes living in the plains are simply referred to as Plains Chin as against the Hills Chin. They, too, do not recognize the word Chin for their racial name, and they call themselves Sho, being a variant of Zo. Some writers on Chin distinguish the Hills Chin from the Plains Chin with the description as 'wild Chin' and 'tame Chin' respectively. Regarding their trace, Grierson reproduces Houghton's statement as follows:

The Southern or tame Chin, as they are sometimes called to distinguish them from the Northern or wild Chins, inhabit both sides of Arakan Yoma and are found in the Akyab, Kyaukpyu, and Sandaway district on the west, and the Minbu, Thayetmyo, Prome, and Henzada districts on the east. ... The tame Chins are in fact merely a tribe which formerly inhabited the present Lushai or wild Chin country, and which has been forced south by a vis a tergo at probably no very distant epoch³⁴

It has been mentioned that the Sho belonging to the 'Southern Chin' fall into category of Old Kuki-Chin. So it is not impossible that they founded the Chin Hills as Houghton had supposed. There are some linguistic elements which purport Sho connection with the Manipuris. For instance, the term *salei* in Manipuri denotes royal clan.³⁵ In Asho, *salai* has the meaning somewhat like 'gallantry' or 'a knight'.³⁶ It seems to Luce that the Manipuris or Meitheis (Meitei in Tedim) belonged to the Kuki-Chin tribes and that they had come from their east, the north of Upper Burma. On the other hand, their migration myth tells their descent into the present areas through the Chindwin river course.³⁷ Did this Asho represent the Khyan that gives the Chindwin river its name? or were they the legendary invaders of Yazagyo with the Manipuris in about the beginning of the Burmese era? Whatever the case might have been, one is sure to say that the Asho (where 'A' denotes the prefix as the 'the' in English) represents what is 'representatively Zo'. There are some materials which support this point.

Dr. Emil Forchhammer was a German scholar and he was the Professor of Pali at the Government High School, Rangoon, in the year 1884. He wrote an Essay on the

33. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 20

34. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, s.v. "Southern Chin Sub-Group".

35. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, s.v. "Manipuri or Meitheis," Footnote -I, "There are even now seven saleis or clans, of which the chief is Ningtheja or Royal clan....."

36. Personal interview with Capt. Ba Thein, an Asho, working as staff officer at the Headquarters of the BSPP, 1987.

37. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, s.v. "Sho or Khyang".

"Sources and development of the Burmese law from the era of the first introduction of the Indian law to the time of the British occupation of Pegu". The Essay is entitled THE JADINE PRIZE, and he was awarded Rs. 1000 for his work. The materials he then collected and the statements he made on the basis of his findings are authoritative enough to be noted. In tracing the source and in examining the formation of the *Dhammathat*, Forchhammer places great emphasis on the religious belief and the social customs of the Chins who called themselves Zo. An excerpt from the text runs as follows:

The Chins found in British Burma... have at different periods emigrated from the north of Upper Burma, chiefly from the headwaters of Chindwin river. ... The original stock from which the Chins ... have separated occupy in large numbers the mountain tracts extending from Assam to Yunnan. They are there sub-divided into 36 clans, called Zo,...³⁸

And, again, in parallel with this, Thangkhangin, a student of Zo history, claims that Zo was the ethnic name of all Kuki-Chins. Referring his authority to Pong chronicle, he testifies to the fact that Pong kingdom covered Nanchu (Vietnam) to the East, Bengal to the west, China to the north, and Kawlzang (Kale-Kabaw Valley) to the south. He goes on to say that Kawlzang was then ruled as a Province under Pong kingdom. Jo Province then comprised the states, Khangsei (Nagaland and the northern part of Manipur), Kathe (Manipur) and Kalei (Chindwin Valley) and Khampat.³⁹

The Northern Zo

In spite of many general and specific similarities among themselves, the Northern Zos are still in contrast to one another in respect of some unique features. For instance, the Lai speakers use *Bawipa* generally for higher social status and office and particularly for Lord while the Tedim word for the same title is *Topa*. As far as the findings of this study are concerned, these words *To* and *Bawi* are distinct and are not likely of the same local origin. They might have been brought to Chin Hills with the people. This single fact suggests that the To-group and the Bawi-group may have passed through different cultural spheres in their historical existence. They made their migrations in part from groups, following the trace of one to displace the former.

It has already been mentioned that the sixteenth century A.D. is conventionally assigned as the date of the founding of the Northern Hills. This date seems to have been adopted from the materials given in The Chin Hills as the date of the founding of Ciimnuai, the home of the Tedim speakers. Traces of old settlement places in the Tedim area alone indicate that the present Northern Zo would have preceded some other old tribes. Lehman has been quoted as saying that the Northern Zos have had their origins in an explosion of population, beginning about the sixteenth century. What have been said in connection with the Chindwin-Chin strongly suggest that the Northern Zos came to the present areas via the Myittha-Kale-Kabaw Valley. The presence of the Taungthas in the Yaw area until today indicates that some tribal group of them found their way directly from the Yawdwin to the present hills, leaving the Taungthas behind. But nearly

38. Dr. Emil Forchhammer, *The Jadine Prize* (Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1884), 9.

39. Thangkhangin, "Zomi tenna Masa," *Siamsin Pawl Annual Magazine*, Churachandpur 1979.

all of their migration myths connect their former home with the Kale-Kabaw Valley. Traditions do not mention how they came there. It is not certain whether they came from the Southern Hills as Lehman supposes.

According to the Northern Zo chronicles, Ciimnuai in Tedim area, Sunthla, Seipui, and Kawlni in Falam area are the places where the present Northern Chins made their first settlements. These places are situated in the valley of Manipur river. According to Thang Tuan, a story teller of Mualpi village, the Tedims moved from Kale Valley following up the Tuikang stream and founded Ciimnuai; the Falams moved up along the river Manipur and made their first settlement at Lotsom.⁴⁰ He relates that the Gangte, Galte (probably of the same tribe with what the Falams describe as Ralte), and the Mars (or Hmars) were the former tribes who first appeared early in the Trans-Manipur river. Grierson mentions that the Rangkhols and Biate tribes who formerly lived in the Chin-Lushai Hills were expelled by the Thados who were in turn driven to the north into the Manipur by the Suktés under their chief Khan Thuam.

The Tedim chronicles say that the migration from Kale Valley was led by Song Thu with the assistance of Song Za, Song Kip or Za Khai. The Lailun tradition, on the other hand, has it that Thuan Khai or Hlawn Khai or Thuan Zom was the founder of Sunthla capital.⁴¹ The settlement at Ciimnuai, Thang Tuan relates, was preceded by the one at *Khul* (cave) which he identifies with that between the present Saizang and Phaileng villages. The settlement at Sunthla is also said to have been preceded by that at the cave below the Standing Rock within the area of Sunthla village. According to the Sim source of Lailun tradition, Cin Zah, Za Thang, Fan Ai and Kheng Lawt were descended from Thuan Khai and they founded Zotlang capital from Lungtial,⁴² the name given to another Standing Stone within the area of the present Sunthla village. Judging by the more elaborate pattern of Northern Zo culture when compared with that of the Southern Zo, it seems difficult to believe that the founders of the Northern Chin Hills would have still lived in the caves of Chin Hills. The recitation of Lungtial makes it clear that Lungtial once represented the object of their sacrifice.⁴³

According to their tradition, the Hualngos came from Chinlung to Chin Hills via the Khamti-Khampat route. They preceded the Hmar tribes with whom they lived together at Khuarua near Zotlang in Falam area. Thus the legend says, they called themselves Zomi after the place of their settlement⁴⁴. In the same tradition, the chronicle states, the tribes who first lived in the Sunthla- Lailun called themselves Laimi after the standing rock, Lailun. So it looks as if the Tedims, too, who took the name Zomi were from the Zotlang of Falam. But there is no mention in the Tedim migration myths of any settlement at Zotlang. So it is very likely that the founders of the settlements in Chin Hills might have brought with them the noble name Zo and applied it to the mountains that they inhabited.

40. Thang Tuan, *Khamtung Mite Tangthu* (Mimeographed) Personal File, 5.

41. Falam Township People's Council, "Lailun San Thuanthu," (Mimeographed), 52-53.

42. The Burma Socialist Programme Party, Haka Township Party Unit, "Hakha Township Gazette," (February 15, 1979), 13-14.

43. "Lailun San Thuanthu," 52-53.

44. Ibid.

The Ciimnuai genealogy starts with Zo and the Lailun genealogy starts with Thuan Khai as their respective ancestors. The Zo genealogy as tabled by A.K. Khup Za Thang has been now twenty three as represented by the house of Khup Pau, the Khuasak Chief of Tedim. In 1890 A.D. the founding of Ciimnuai capital had been thirteenth generations. So it seems that Ciimnuai capital was founded not later than the sixteenth century A.D.⁴⁵ According to Zo genealogy, the historical figures like Song Thu and Ngai Te represent the fifth generation. The thirteenth of Ciimnuai generation is represented by the sixteenth of Zo genealogy. This genealogical table is verified and found consistent with history. Therefore, the legend that Song Thu led the migration and founded Ciimnuai settlement seems to be true to history.

According to Lailun tradition, the family tree of Zahau starts with Thuan Khai, the supposed founder of Sunthla, and Van Hre represents the thirteen generations of Zahau⁴⁶. If this genealogical tree is supposed to be authentic, then the founding of Sunthla would have been not earlier than the sixteenth century. Hence world history records that 'Chin history is traceable to 1600 A.D.'

Khan Thuam of Sukté family, Mat Tuang of Suantak family in Tedim area and Khuang Ceu of Zahau family in Falam area are contemporary in history. Khan Thuam is placed at the ninth generation of Sukté and Mat Tuang in placed at the sixteenth generation of Zo whereas Khuang Ceu represents the seventh generation of Zahau. Thus a comparative study of the genealogical tables of the Northern Zo shows that the founding of Sunthla is later than that of Ciimnuai in genealogy and chronology as well.⁴⁷ The Tedim ancestor Zo is pictured like a legendary figure rather than an historical one. So, Kip Mang and Ciin Hil who are placed as the sons of Zo can be taken as the immediate ancestors of the Tedim Zo in particular and the Northern Zo in general, for they were older than Thuan Khai in genealogy.

The families of Guite and Thawmte are unique in tradition. They are referred to as *mang*, the noble term, and are regarded and respected as noble tribe. Like the family of Zahau, Guite claim their family origin from Egg⁴⁸. In fact it is not properly known whether the claim of nobility was grounded upon the tradition which is related to the Sakyan race. As a traditional rule, new settlement could not be established without being officiated and consecrated by those men who alone possessed the traditional right to do so. Based on such a tradition, there is reason to suppose that founding of the first settlements in Northern Chin Hills was led by those ruling families. So this traditional practice strongly suggests that Thuan Khai, the Chief of the Lai speakers and the founder of the Lailun-Sunthla settlement, and Song Thu, the Chief of the Tedim speakers and the founder of the Ciimnuai settlement, were related to such noble families as Guite, Thawmte, etc. The Thado migration myth says that there were three great men named Song Thu, Song Za, and Za Hang of whom Song Thu led the migration of the Tedim group, Song Za led the Falam group, and Za Hang led the Hakha group.⁴⁹ But there is no mention of such legendary figures similar to these great men in either of the Falam

45. See Appendix II "Ciimnuai Chronology"

46. "Lailun San Thuanthu" 80

47. See Appendix III, "Tables of the Northern Zo genealogy"

48. See Appendix IV, "Origin Myth from Egg".

49. A report on "The History and Culture of the Khuangsai Chin", to the Central Security and Administrative Committee of the Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma by the Khuangsai Chin Cultural Revival Committee, Khamti District, 1972.

and the Hakha sources. Yet no one could say for sure that 'Song Za' was not at all memorized by the Hakhas as 'Cin Zah'.⁵⁰

To summarize what has been said relating to the Northern Zo, the river valley of Manipur within the area of former Chin Hills represents the cradle of the present Northern Zo. The founding of the first settlements in Chin Hills may have been before or during the twelfth century and the Northern Chins may have come there displacing the former occupants in not earlier than the sixteenth century A.D. It looks as if these Northern Zo people came from the Central Plains via the Yaw valley, having borne the name Khyan (Chin). They belonged to the people who called their chief 'Mang'.

The Tedim Zo

Lehman describes the Tedim (Tiddim) cultural area as having 'peculiarities'. What characteristic feature signifies the 'peculiarity' may be found evident in the account of Zo tradition and culture given in Part Two of this work in pattern of the Tedim practices. So the historical background of the Tedim Zo deserves to be mentioned in brief. The word 'Tedim' in its native form is employed here in a linguistic sense in contrast to other Zos to collectively represent all clans and families speaking one dialect and linking their origin to Ciimnuai capital. The present townships of Tedim and Tonzang represented the area of the Northern Zo in the former Chin Hills District.

According to Grierson, the Northern Zo is represented by the Thados, Suktes, Sihzangs, Raltes and Paihthes.⁵¹ The Vaipheis being closely related to the Tedim speakers are recorded as entirely disappeared from the Chin Hills. In Tedim area 237 clans and families including the Vaiphei are countable.⁵² Each of these is represented by a priesthood called *Tuul-khat* in Tedim. Corresponding to slight variations in speaking dialects, the Zos in Tedim area are today grouped into ten sub-tribes. These are Dim, Khuano, Hualngo, Sihzang, Saizang, Tedim, Thahdo, Teizang, Vangteh, and Yo.⁵³ The name Sukte was a ruling family by the time of the Survey and under its rule lived different families and clans.

In early times, the Tedims were probably referred to as Paite and the Tedim speakers in Manipur, India, adopted this name for their racial designation. The Lusheis, Grierson states, called all the hill tribes who wear their hair in a knot upon the top of their head *poi* or *pai*.⁵⁴ Grierson seems to have confused the two words *poi* and *pai* which were reciprocally applied to each other by the Tedims and the Falams. The Tedims called the Falams *Poi* and the Falams in turn called the Tedims *Pai* or *Paite*. To draw a distinction,

50. According to the Thantlang Chronicles, the first settlement in Thantlang was made by such known clans as Mualhlun, Tinhlawng, Hlawching, Zinthoh, Cin Zah, etc., displacing the former settlers called Mars. Of these founding clans, Mualhlun and Tinhlawng came from Hnialawn in the township of the present Hakha, and Hlawching and Cinzah was a ruling clan known as 'Cin Zah Pu Mangpa' in the Thantlang dialect. The family tree of Lal Luai, the tribal chief when the British Army occupied Chin Hills, is drawn from Cin Zah. Lal Luai (the Thantlang mang), and Khup Pau (the Sihzang mang) were contemporary at time. The unique feature of Cin Zah is that he was referred to as Mang. (Taken from "Thantlang Baptist Church Diamond Jubilee", 1990, 1-3)

51. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, s.v. "Kuki-Chin Group".

52. See Appendix V 'List of the Tedim Clans'

53. Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP), *The Cultures and Customs of the Indigenous Races of the Union of Burma (Chin)*, (Rangoon : B.S.P.P. Press, 1963), 66.

54. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, s.v. "Kuki-Chin Group".

those who wore their hair in a knot over the forehead were called *Poi* whereas those who wore their hair in a knot on the nape of the neck were called *Pai*. So, by taking this style of menfolk for a classification of tribes, the Paite will comprise the Sihzangs, the Suktes, the Thahdos, the Yos, the Hualngos in the Tedim area and also the Pankhus in the Chittagaung Hills Tracts.⁵⁵ Both words, *Pai* and *Poi*, were applied in a degrading sense and had not referred to an ethnic sense. The name Paite was therefore dropped in the 1931 Census of India for a tribal name.⁵⁶

The Tedims clearly distinguish themselves from the other tribes of the Northern Zo by the fact that they use the term *Topa* for Lord or Master whereas the Hualngos and the Lusheis use *Lalpa* and the Thados use *Pakai* for the same title. Though no proper study has yet been made, it is most probable that these terms, *Lalpa* and *Pakai*, were adopted in their localities. Like the Tedims, the Hualngos and the Lusheis, too, use the term *tual* for the village sacrifice. Judging by these facts, the Tedim type of Zo may include Hualngo (and Lushei), Sukte (and Kamhau), Sihzang, Thahdo, Ralte, Vaiphei, and Pankhu in the sense of 'peculiarity'.

Some literary record suggests that the name *Pai* or *Paite* was not of local origin. It was, perhaps, the name given before the founding of Ciimnuai capital. Yet there is no clan or family which bears the name. It is, therefore, very likely that the founders of Ciimnuai had been known or referred to as *Paite* before their entry into Chin Hills. The Tedim speaking tribes in the present place were known to outside after the name of the ruling clan or family. While the Falams call the Tedims *Paihte*, the Lushais call them *Vuite*, the same name with *Guite*, who were predominant in Tedim area before the rise of Khan Thuam of Sukte family. When the Census of 1931 was conducted, the Tedim area except that of the Sihzang was under the rule of Sukte family led by Khan Thuam. It is, therefore, likely that the Census records Sukte as representing its tribes and the Sihzangs as a separate tribe. Following the death of Khan Thuam, the Sukte tribal area was divided into the Suktes and the Kamhaus. The account of this, will be mentioned under the heading concerned.

Ciimnuai, the home of the Tedims, lies in the eastern bank of the Manipur river, enclosed to the west by the Lentaang (Innbuk) range and to the east by the Lethar (Thaangmual) range. It is thus hidden from view, and looks like a place chosen to take a refuge therein. The migration from Chindwin is said to have been made by a band of forty households. This indicates that the Tedim movement to the hills was necessitated by a marked change in the plains. One is first required to identify the place which the Tedims fled for the hills. Dr. Than Tun, the Professor of History Department in Mandalay University, describes the place of the Northern Zo settlement in the plains as the 'upper part of Chindwin'. According to him, the Northern Zos were the tribes of Thado, Sihzang, Sukte, Kamhau, and Yo,⁵⁷ who were purely Tedim speakers. The upper part of Chindwin includes the Kale-Kabaw Valley from which came the Northern Zo.

55. Ibid.

56. Green, *Census of India*, 1931, XI, "Burma, Part-I - Report", 184

57. Dr. Than Tun, *Khit-haung Myanmar Yajavun*, (Rangoon: Maha Dagon Publishers, 1969). 24

Different clan legends tell different stories relating to the cause of Zo migration from the plains. One source ascribes the migration to forced labour in the construction of the fortress of Kalemyo. The key to decypher this legendary event is to identify the ruler who built the Walled-town in the Kale plain. The events that are contained in the tale may have been a true event which the Tedims had experienced in their past. But what is not certain is whether all the stories told in tradition were the events that had happened in Ciimnuai and Chindwin. The Tedim tradition says that a prince came up from below and ruled over the Kale valley. The way and manner in which the ruler of Kale was installed suggest that the ruler coming from 'below' does not seem to have come as a conqueror, but rather as the one appointed and sent.

According to the Hatlang clan source, they (Tedims) in Bunglung increased to over five hundred households. They were frequently attacked by the Meiteis (Manipuris) that they asked for help from the Burmese king who not only gave weapons, but also personally led the Zo invasion of Manipur. On his return the king left his son to rule Kale.⁵⁸ Kale chronicle on the other hand records that the Mingsung who reigned at Ava from 1402 to 1423 A.D. made his nephew Kyitaungnyo ruler of Kale State. According to the Burmese source, Ava capital was founded by Thado Minpya in 1346 A.D. and Kale Kyitaungnyo, the fourth prince, reigned there in 1425-1426.⁵⁹ The Mongol conquest of Pagan in the thirteenth century brought about the disintegration of Pagan Empire into contending states. Warfares between the feudal Lords increased in violence and intensity. No states could prevail to unite the disintegrated Empire. It was Bayinnaung who reunited it and led it to victories and triumphs. Until 1362 A.D. Bayinnaung was engaged in compaigns against Manipur. There is mention in some record that Bayinnaung's invading armies included Chin levies.⁶⁰ The conquest of Manipur inevitably involved the whole of Kale Valley since it is on the route to Manipur. So it seems almost certain that Bayinnaung was the Burmese king mentioned in the Chin legend and Kyitaungnyo purports to have been the legendary prince who came up from 'below'.

Soon after the the Mongol retreat from Burma in 1301, the Shans overran the whole north of upper Burma, east and west of Irrawaddy down to the walls of Myedu on the upper Mu and Tagaung on the Irrawaddy.⁶¹ In 1364, they sacked the twin capitals of Sagaing and Pinya. "In 1397," says Lehman, "We first hear of the Shan fortress city of Kale (the Burmese Kalemyo)".⁶² So, according to the historical context of Chindwin during the period of fourteenth century, one can conclude as this. If Kyitaungnyo represents the Zo legendary prince, then the Tedims must have been in Kale valley at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and Kyitaungnyo may not be the prince who conscripted the forced labour in the construction of the walled town of Kale, for the fortress of Kale had been built before that date. If the Shans built the fort to ward off the Zos form Chin Hills as Luce says, these Hills Chin must not have included the Tedim

58. Gin Za That, *The Clan Chronicle of Hatlang* (Muizawl : n.d.)

59. Grant Brown, *Burma Gazette, Upper Chinwin*. A:8

60. J. Gin Za Tuang, *Zomi Innkuan Laibu* (Tedim : 1973)

61. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:80.

62. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 24.

Zo, for the Tedims were in Kale by that time living together with the Shans. If such was the history, then what marked change compelled the Tedims to take refuge in the present hills? Was the Shan prince the 'prince' who conscripted the forced labour?

Regarding this case, Luce states that the power contest between the Ava house and the Shans 'must have broken up the peace of Chindwin Valley and forced the Zos to take refuge in the Chin Hills'.⁶³ Thangkhangin, on the other hand, relates that a marriage was arranged in 1445 A.D. between the daughter of Soohoongpha, the Pong king, and Sourum Khum, the governor of Khampat capital; but the arrangement was broken because the Pong princess (Shan princess) changed her mind about marrying the Khampat governor. Angered by this case, Sourum Khum secretly prepared for a war with the Pong house; and at that critical situation, the Pong prince took to wife the daughter of Ninghau, the Meitei Chief, in 1474 A.D. Sourum Khum way-laid the escorting party of the bride on the way home and attacked the party. Chowlanghied escaped and reported the matter to the Pong court, and the Shans advanced against Khampat capital and the Zo thus fled the capital for Chin Hills.⁶⁴ The Lushai story-tellers insistently claim that Khampat, some forty miles to the north of the present Kalemyo, was once their capital. The same story is told in the Manipuri chronicle, too, as follows:

About 1475 A.D. the strength and influence of Manipur State increased to a considerable extent. The ruler of Pong prepared to marry a daughter of the king of Manipur. On her way to Pong, she was carried off by the Raja forces of Pong and Manipur.⁶⁵

According to this record supported by the then political situation of Chindwin, it looks as if the immediate cause that led the Chins to migrate from Chindwin Valley was not the disturbances of the valley due to the power contest between the Shans and the Ava house, but the conflict between the Shans and the Zos themselves. If King Bayinnaung did lead Zo invasion of Manipur, one has to expect that the Tedims may have been still in Kale-Kabaw Valley in about 1559 A.D. in which year Bayinnaung invaded Manipur. Whatever the history may have been, sixteenth century A.D. appears to be the most likely date of the Tedim migration to the present hills and is found to coincide with the genealogy of Ciimnuai capital.⁶⁶

Since early times the Guite family had always been considered to be the superior tribe and many of the people wanted to have been descended from it. According to their family tradition, from Guite to Mang Sum for four generations the Guite served as the village priest in Ciimnuai capital. This chronicle seems to illuminate the historical background of Ciimnuai capital. According to tradition, only the men of noble descent could lead migration and found new settlements; and its founder by virtue to tradition served as its village priest. There is, therefore, reason to believe that Guite might have led the Tedim migration from Chindwin Valley and might have officiated at the founding ceremony of Ciimnuai settlement. This seems to be supported by the chronicle of the Ngawn, which says that Ngen Dawk was one among those *nampi*⁶⁷ (noble) tribes who made the first settlement at Bualkhua in the northernmost of Falam area. This name is

63. Luce, "The Chin Hills Linguistic Tour (Dec. 1954) University Project, "JBRS, 1959, 26.

64. Thangkhangin, "Zomi Tenna Masa",

65. J. Roy, *History of Manipur*, (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1958), 29.

66. See Appendix-II "Ciimnuai Chronology".

67. "Lailun San Thuanthu," 139.

almost identical with the personal name Ngen Dong, the son of Kul Ngen of Guite family. It is not surely known whether Bualkhua was founded from Ciimnuai or the Guite came to Ciimnuai via Bualkhua. What is certain is that the historical figure called Ngen Dong in Tedim is still memorized as Ngen Dawk by the Ngawns as of noble tribe.

Though there is traditional ground to suppose that the Guite ruled in Ciimnuai, their pedigrees are not connected with Songthu, the supposed founder of Ciimnuai. Of the two hundred and thirty seven clans and families of Tedim speakers, no one bears the name Songthu or the similar one as a clan name. According to Thang Tuan, a Tedim story-teller, Songthu had as sons Thahthang, Thahgen, and Thahdo. One source of the Thahdo chronicle, too, says that Song Thu was denominated into four sub-families, namely, Guite, Hangkip, Kipgen, and Thahdo.⁶⁸ According to the Thawmte Chronicle, Sinte hands down Pante and Pante hands down Thawmte. Mang Sum, the son of Thawmte founded Saizang settlement.⁶⁹ The Saizang chronicle again claims that the descendants of Thawmte spread from Ciimnuai to Saizang, Teizang (now Mualbem), Dimpi, and Lamzang villages. The Teizang tradition again has it that Teizang was founded by Sinte, Pante, Kawngte, and Za Suan.⁷⁰ These personal names suffixed with *te* represent people. So it is most likely that the families Thawmte, Sinte, Pante, Kawngte, and the like suffixed with *te* might have represented separate clans by the time Ciimnuai was founded. This point further suggests that Song Thu, a historical figure, belonged to such older clans suffixed with *te*. In such a case, he may have belonged to the clan or family with which Thahdo was related.

Of the people living in the Tedim speaking area the Thahdo and the Yo (Zo) are the only clans practising the rite of burying their dead. Grave sites unearthed in the present Suangpi and Dimpi villages indicate the trace of Thahdo in that part of Tedim. This fact serves to prove their claim that the Thahdo were from Ciimnuai.⁷¹ If then, why is the word Songthu absent in the list of Tedim speakers? Another source of Thahdo migration myth says that the Northern Zo migrated from Kale valley and settled at Mangkheng. If there is no other place, Mangkheng is situated about seven miles to the south of the present Falam town. From there, the myth goes on to relate, they moved to Bualtung, some thirty miles to the west of Mangkheng, and then to Luikaa (meaning, the junction of streams). This legendary place called Luikaa is identified with the place where the Ngatan lui enters into the Manipur river below Saizang village area. This legendary route is found in parallel with what Thang Tuan tells of the early movements of the Lushais, the Gangte, and the Thahdo in the west side of the Manipur river. Thang Tuan says that the Lushais were earlier to reach the west than the Gangtes and the Thahdos who were stronger enough to have pushed them up to the west of Lentaang range (Innbuk). But he tells the story in such a way as these older clans were from Ciimnuai and as to have crossed the river to reach there.

68. "The Report on the Cultural History of the Khuangsai Chin"

69. Son Cin Lian, "The Report on the Early History of Tedim Area"

70. The ritual prayer of Mualbem village sacrifice recites the names of Sinte, Pante, Kawngte, and Za Suan, as the founders of the village.

71. K. Zawla, *Mizo Pi Pute leh An Thlahte Chanchin*, 3rd Ed. (Aizawl:H.A. Press, 1981), 6-7.

K. Zawla, a writer on the Lushai history, mentions a tribe with the name Chawngthu which he says lived together with such significant tribes as the Lushais, Kawlnis, Khiangtes, Ngentes, etc., in Seipui and its surrounding areas.⁷² According to K. Zawla, these tribes had been in that part of Northern Chin Hills in 1460. Now it looks as if Chawngthu was the same name as what the Tedim source mentions as Songthu. Thang Tuan tells on the one hand that the Gualnam (Hualnam) family was not from Ciimnuai, but from Kale coming along the Manipur river and making their first settlement at Bualkhua in the Ngawn area, from where they moved to Mualleng.

There is, again, mention of Songthu in the chronicle of the Ngawns who connect their origin with Ciimnuai. The area inhabited by the Ngawns proper comprises Sialsih, Zawlnu, Keelkong, Sihti, and Vazang. According to their tradition, the founder of these villages was Len Thuan whose generation has been now only nine. The descent of Len Thuan is traced to Songthu and is placed at the seventh generation from Songthu. According to the Ngawn source of Ciimnuai genealogical tree, the generations from Song Thu are handed down successively as Suantak, Sihsing, Nge Ngawn, Sai Za, Zil-om, to Lenthuan.⁷³ The chronicle maintains that the Raltes, the Khiangtes, and the Kawlnis originally inhabited Saihmun in the Ngawn area from which to have been expelled into Manipur.

From what have been mentioned and discussed relating to the founding story of Ciimnuai capital it can be derived that whether Song Thu belonged to either Guite or Thahdo, his legendary account pictures him like the tribal Chief of the Tedim Zo including the Ngawns in the present Falam area. The route as mentioned in the chronicles of the Ngawn and the Thahdo casts doubt into the genuiness of the migration myth that the founders of Ciimnuai settlement climbed up the summit of Mount Kennedy (Thaang-mual) to look for a suitable place. It is more likely that they came probably along the Manipur river and made their settlement there in a not distant place from their relatives, the Central Zo Tribes.⁷⁴ Had Songthu founded Ciimnuai capital, then Chawngthu, the related tribes of Lushai, must have been from Ciimnuai and the Lushais might have been once under the leadership of Songthu or Chawngthu. This point will be seen clearer in the account of the relation of the Lushais with the Tedim Zo.

Lushai Zo

The study of the Tedim Zo will lack something unless mention is made of the tribes known to the outside world as Lushai. The search for the origin of the Lushai (Lushei) has ended in a mystery. The Lusheis seem to consider themselves to have been a distinct tribe even before Zo settlement in the present hills. So far, however, no one as yet identify the Lusheis proper. The British administration had done considerable research work on the Lushei language and had collected some materials to work with. What most impressed the administration is that the Lusheis were as admixture of the Northern Zo tribes. Concerning the study on Lushei, the information that Major J. Shakespear furnishes and is quoted by G.A. Grierson deserves to be mentioned as follows:

72. Ibid

73. *Lailun Sam Thuanthu*, 143

74. H.N.C. Stevenson, *The Economics of the Central Chin Tribes*. (Bombay : The Times of India Press, 1943), Map II.

It must be clearly understood that there are no tribes as we understand the term. In former official correspondance the Syloo tribe and the Thanglu tribe are spoken of, and it was thought that all people living in these communities were Syloos (Sailos) or Thangluas, whereas Sailo, Thanglu, etc. are nearly only the names of individual families to which the chiefs belonged, the village ruled by these chiefs being inhabited by representatives of many different families. I have just succeeded in tracing out the pedigree of the Sailo who are also called Thangur, through 13 generations back to Thangura, the founder of the family and grandfather of Sailoa, whence the family took their name. ⁷⁵

Regarding the linguistic group of Lushei, Grierson quotes the statement made by Mr. Davis as reproduced below:

The term Lushei, though known to the people living in the Lushei Hills, is not, however, used in the general sense in which we are accustomed to employ it, and is really used as a name for only one of the many clans or sects who speak what is known among the people themselves as the 'Dulien Tong' or 'Dulien language'... The general term that includes all inhabitants of the North Lushei Hills, except Piis, is 'Mezo' or 'Mizau', of which the principal sub-divisions are as follows:-

(1) Dulien or Lushei (2) Mhar (3) Ralte (4) Paite ⁷⁶

All these statements strongly suggest that Dulien had represented the founder of the Lushei proper. There is, however, no genealogical tree that is drawn from Dulien. Instead, the Lushei genealogy is represented by that of Sailo, the ruling family of the Lushei speakers, in which no mention is found of Dulien among the pedigrees. Of all the Lushei speaking clans, the Sailo family is most significant and influential to such an extent that the village not ruled by the Sailos was considered insignificant. ⁷⁷ So judging by tradition, the Sailo family was considered a noble tribe, irrespective of their ability to rule. So it is compelling to identify the ethnic affinity of the Sailo family. According to Lalthangliana, the pedigree of Sailo is traced to Ninguite-a who hands down Ngeknguka and Sihsinga of whom the Sailo family belongs to Sihsinga. ⁷⁸ "In the 16 century," says Lalthangliana, "Mizos of Seipui fought wars with the Tiddims living on the east of Manipur river and once Mizos captured Chuahlawma, son of Ralnaa, son of Sihsinga, son of Nguite-a." The word Sihsinga or Sihsing occurs commonly in the pedigrees of the Ngawns and Lusheis as if it had been the name of an historical person, and as if it had belonged to Guite family. According to its genealogical tree as drawn by Lalthangliana, Chuahlawma, the captive in the war with Tedims, represents the fourth generation from Nguite-a and Sailo represents the eighth. Relating to the Sailo ethnology, Shakespear gives the story as mentioned below:-

The existing Lushei Chiefs all claim descent from a certain Thangura, who is sometimes said to have sprung from the union of a Burman with a Paihte woman, but according to the Paihtes, the Lusheis are descended from Boklua, an illegitimate son of the Paihte Chief Ngehguka. ⁷⁹

75. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey, 1904*, S.V. "Lushai or Dulien."

76. Ibid

77. Ibid

78. See Appendix VI, "Tables of Tedim and Lushai Genealogies."

79. Lt. Colonel J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, Part I&II (Bungay Suffolk: Richard Clay and Sons Ltd.)
Reprinted by the Tribal Research Institute, Mizoram : Aizawl, 1975), I:2.

Based on all these traditions, one is entitled to conclude that the descent of Sailo was related with the Tedims regardless of whether as being an illegitimate son or as being a captive. Then who was what Shakespear describes as the Paihte Chief Ngehguka?

This study finds two Tedim names, Nge Ngu and Ngek Nguk, nearly almost similar in pronunciation, but belonging to two different families. According to Sihzang genealogy, Nge Ngu represents the ninth from Zo and he hands down Boklu-a, the father of Sailo. Similarly the pedigree of the Guite family contains the names Bawk-lu and Ngek Nguk being related as father and son. Were Nge Ngu and Ngek Nguk one and the same person or did they represent different persons of different families as they were shown in their respective genealogies? There are more questions to be asked in this concern. It has been mentioned that the Tedims in early times were known to Falam as Paihte and to Lushei as Vuile.. It does not matter whether Ngek Nguk or Nge Ngu in the Tedim source, Ngehguka in the Mizo source was of either Guite or Sihzang, what is certain is that the Sailo family was revered and respected because it was probably believed to have descended from the noble tribe.

It is also necessary to examine the historical relation of the Lusheis with the Tedims in early times. There existed a relation between Tedim and Seipui that seems intimate. "In the third quarter of the 19th century," writes Lalthangliana, "Seipui became fairly prosperous. Relying upon its defensive power, such groups as Vuile, Vaiphei, and Ralte came to live within the limits of Seipui".⁸⁰ That period chronologically coincides with the period of Tedim in which Mualbem under Khan Thuam strove with such contending tribes as Vaiphei, Guite, Thahdo, and Yo, most of whom fled Tedim to seek refuge outside Tedim. The seeking of refuge in Seipui, the cradle of the Lushei-Hualng speakers, by the Vuiles seems to reflect the existence of close relation between Seipui and Ciimnuai, the Lusheis and the Tedims (Guites). This point makes one conjecture whether Ngeknguka was the one mentioned in the Guite chronicle.

The Guite claims that Mang Sum with his son Tuah Ciang founded Geeltui (now an old site of settlement within the village area of the present Lamzang in the west of Tedim town) from Ciimnuai, where from Tuah Ciang to Ngek Nguk for four generations served as the village priest. But the chonicle does not mention why or how Geeltui was abandoned; nor does it mention a war with Seipui. A set of sacral songs was handed down as if the songs were composed by Thang Ho himself who is said to have lived in Geeltui and to have been wealthy. A stanza of the song attributes the ruin of Geeltui to an invasion by the people from below, whom the author of the song refers to as *Vaipi*.⁸¹ The name Vaipi is the Northern Zo word for the Indians. Did the Seipuis invade Geeltui in allying with the Indians? The sixteenth century A.D. generally corresponds to the early period of Ciimnuai in which Nei Yal, the father of Nge Ngu (the immediate ancestor of the Sihzangs proper), is said to have been born and to have lived in Ciimnuai. Nge

80. B. Lalthangliana, *History of Mizo in Burma*, (Calcutta : New Alipore, 1977),28

81. The Folk songs traditionally preserved as sacred say thus :- (a) Ni nu'n dalgua bang hong hah tah e, Geeltui ah ni bang ka lun hi e. (b) Geltui kamkei aw sa yunghvungh e, khuakhang vaipi nang ta lahing e. (Taken from *Suangpi Muualsuang* by Sing Khaw Khai, 268)

Ngu is supposed to have founded the settlement at Suantak, now a deserted place below the present Khuasak village. Where the Ngawns trace the origin of their tribal name to Nge Ngawn, the Sihzang source makes no mention of any genealogical connection of Nge Ngu with the Ngawns. On the other hand, a name similar to or somewhat like *Chuahlawma* is neither mentioned in their respective pedigrees of the Sihzang and the Guite. So there is little reason to suppose whether the Guite Ngek Nguk who ruled in Geeltui was the one captured and carried-off in the war with the Paite which was then ethnically represented by Guite ruling family. What seems almost certain is that the name Ngehnguka, the immediate ancestor of the Sailo ruling family, is historically linked to the people known to outside as Paihte, Vuite, and Sihsinga. It is also evident that the name Ngek Nguk in Guite, (Nge Ngawn in Ngawn, Nge Ngu in Sihzang, Ngehnguka in Lushei) once represented a significant figure like a tribal chief of the Paite.

Guite Family

Guite as they called themselves is unique in Tedim history and tradition. So a brief mention of the Guite family needs to be made. The name Guite is taken as a family or clan name. In fact the name implies the sense of a tribe. The name has been already mentioned as once having represented the ethnology of the Tedims proper. As the founder of new settlements in Tedim area, the Guite chiefs had acted as the village priests.

According to their origin myth, the Guite were descended from Ni-gui which means the solar descent. It is not certain whether the belief of Guite clan as a noble race was grounded upon this tradition. One source of their origin myth says that Ni-gui or Guite was born of a sunray -hit-gourd.⁸² It looks as if their origin tree of Guite is drawn starting from Nem Nep, a similar symbol with Nem Nik of whom the Thados were progeny,⁸³ and the generation has been now twenty eight as represented by Zang Kho Lian. According to their genealogical tree, Mang Sum, Kul Gen, and Nak Sau were brothers representing the sixth. Their tradition states that these brothers were born in Ciimnuai. One day they went out to discuss matters relating to how to find new settlements of their own and they reached a place called *Nah-khu-zang*,⁸⁴ where teak trees were growing. To look for new land, Mang Sum and Kul Gen went northwards and Nak Sau went southwards to reach a country of Gurkha.⁸⁵ The Guite thus believe that the Gurkhas were the descendants of Nak Sau. The geographical picture of the present Ciimnuai, the home of the Tedim speakers, looks different from that of the legendary Ciimnuai. This suggests that there was another place with the same name outside of the Chin Hills. This recalls another source in which the Thados were at war with the people referred to as the Naksau people when the Chins were in Tibet. Naksau literally means the 'long nose tribes' and the Thado migration myth relates that the Naksau lost the war and were forced westwards.⁸⁶

82. See Appendix IV "Origin Myth from Egg"

83. See Appendix VIII "The Progenitors of the Thados"

84. The word *Nah-khu* is a kind of plant with large leaves growing in the middle part of a mountainous region, and *zang* means plain ground.

85. Son Cin Lian, 'The early History of Tedim Area'

86. The report on "The History and Culture of the Khuangsai Chin"

The Guite chronicle claims that they ruled in Ciimnuai for four generations from Guite, Gui Gen, Gui Mang to Mang Sum. They founded Geeltui, Kalzang and Tedim from Ciimnuai. They ruled in Geeltui from Tuah Ciang, Lam Lei, Bawk-Lu to Ngek Nguk for four generations and in Tedim till Gui Mang for four generations. They also ruled in Kalzang till Mang Pi, the son of Ngek Nguk. Besides these, their chronicle claims that the Guite had lived in Lamzang, Phuaizang, Losau, and Mualpi and they collected tributes from the villages of Tedim, Suangzang, Mawnglang, Phai, Kahngen, Belpi, Suanzo and Sasih during their later rule in Lamzang under Pum Go and his son Sum Mang. Lamzang then represented the centre power of supra local organization and Pum Go is recorded as being contemporary with Khan Thuam, the Sukte chief.

The ethnic representation of Tedim speaking area by the name Guite testifies to the fact that the Guite were popular among the Northern Chin tribes at the time, and their rule was accepted by the people probably not because the Guite were politically strong, but because, perhaps, the family was believed and respected as the legitimate ruler (as mang) owing to its noble descent. Because its rule prevailed that the family name might have been associated with the ethnic affinity of the Tedim speakers until the rise of Khan Thuam.

The Thado source maintains that Songthu led the founding of Ciimnuai capital, but the Guite source does not mention this and Songthu was not a Guite and that Guite preceded Songthu in founding Ciimnuai. Pum Go of Guite, Khan Thuam of Sukte, and Mat Tuang of Suantak were contemporary figure in history. According to Zo genealogy as shown by Captain Khup Za Thang, Mat Tuang represents the fifteenth generation from Ciin Hil and Kip Mang. And according to the Guite genealogy, Pum Go represents the seventeenth from Mang Sum and Kul Gen. It can thus be derived that the Guite Mang Sum and the Sihzang Ciin Hil were of the same generation. This makes it difficult to suppose that such legendary figures as Ciin Hil, Kip Mang, Mang Sum, Kul Gen, etc. did enter the Chin Hills. The account of Mang Sum as once ruler in Ciimnuai thus appears to be related to another place outside the Chin Hills and such legendary figures as Mang Pi, Bawk Lu, Ngek Nguk, etc. were likely the native of Ciimnuai capital.

Based on all this account of tradition, it can be assumed that the main body of the Tedim speakers was led by the Guite and Thawmte in their migration from Chindwin. Like the queen-bee of a bee-hive, the Guite and Thawmte families were essential to make new settlements or to build a new society in the present area. Nearly all clans claim they were once great in such and such places. But traditional record indicates that the respect for the noble rule of Guite lasted until the rise of Sukte under their chief Khan Thuam of Mualbem in about the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

Yo Family

While all clans and families belonging to the tribes who call their chief Topa designate themselves with Yo or Zo, they in turn apply their common name to a particular clan. The Yos are most unique in the sense of the name they bear and the culture they practise in reflection of the ancient Zo tradition. Their origin myth points back to times immemorial. No proper study has yet been made as to why the generic Yo as spelt in former literature was applied to them. Yo families are today living in north-east of Tedim

town, in Tonzang township, in Kale-Kabaw Valley, and also in Manipur State, India. The Yo Baptists in Burma have separated themselves from the Tedim Baptist Association and formed an association of their own with the name "Zo Baptist Association".

The Yos existed in parallel with such significant tribes as Vaiphei, Thado, Guite, etc. prior to the emergence of Sukte family in Tedim area. According to Thang Tuan, the Yos (Zos) were originally from Ciimnuai from which Hang Hil with his brother Mi Lun founded a settlement of his own at the place called Balzang between the Tedim town and Saizang village on a mountain ridge covered with green forest called the zo part of mountain.⁸⁷ Could this story of the origin of Zo as a racial name be taken as a genuine one? So far as the findings of this study are concerned, the Yos and Thados of the Tedim speakers still preserve the ancient custom of burying their dead, which signifies the Zo feature of culture. So although no systematic study has yet been made, one finds difficulty to agree with the local story in which the name was given to the people. According to their chronicle, Yo tribe was originated from the combination of Zau Hang, the male, and Nem Niang, the female, of under-world.⁸⁸ The legendary relation of the Yo tribe with Zau Hang represents the most crucial point for this study. This point will be found clearer in the course of this work. Regarding the history of the Yo tribe, Carey and Tuck describe it as follows:

The Yo tribe three generation back occupied the tract of country now inhabited by the Kanhow clan of Soktes, and many of the Kanhow Villages are inhabited still by Yos, whose tribal name has given way to that of Kanhow. As has been shown in a previous chapter, Kantum, the Sokte, conquered all the inhabitants right up to the borders of Manipur, and Kanhow, his son, founded Tiddim village and ruled the newly acquired conquests of his father. The conquered Yos thus became known as Kanhowte, Kanhow's men, and as they intermarried with the Soktes who settled north with Kanhow, there is now no real difference between the conquerors and the conquered.⁸⁹

According to this record, it looks as if the name Zo had already represented a significant sense of ethnology before the rise of Kamhau ruling family and was contemporary to Guite. Before the time of Khan Thuam, the capital of the Yo tribes was Khuangnung, between the present Lailo and Tuilang in the Tedim area with their Chief Lang Za.

Lang Za is a well-known figure in the history of Tedim. He is said to have helped Khan Thuam flee for his life to Rallang (Dallang in Tedim) in Falam area at the time of Khuang Ceu, the Zahau Chief. Thang Tuan tells a story in which Tuang Za Go, the great grandson of Lang Za, once in a quarrel with Pum Za Mang, the last Chief of Kamhau Tract, spoke of Khan Thuam as once the slave of Lang Za. This ensued in a legal dispute of whether Khan Thuam was once the slave of Lang Za and the case was brought to Macdonald, the then Tedim Sub-Divisional Officer, and was tried at the Mualpi

87. Thang Tuan, *Khamtung Mite Tangthu*.

88. B.S.P.P., *Customs of the Indigenous Races (Chin)*, (Rangoon Burmese Literature Society Press, 1971), 58

89. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:140

Bungalow.⁹⁰ But he makes no mention of how the case was decided. Whatever the fact might have been and however the case was decided, what this incident suggests is that the Yos were once a contending tribe contemporary with the Guites, the Thados, and the Vaipheis in Tedim area. Carey and Tuck describe the relation of the Yos with the Suktes as follows:-

Suktes, Yos, and Kanhows are practically one people though no Sukte chief would admit that he is not of superior to a Yo. ... The people called themselves by the name of Yo, and those who belong to the Man Lun family consider that they have a right to be proud of their birth.⁹¹

This statement seems to have implied the sense more than being just descended from the one who had lived on the *zo* part of a mountain. This tradition leads one after all to the thought of whether the ancient Zo royal line was handed down through the Manlun family line in the same tradition that the rule of Za Pau came to bear the tribal name Sukte.

Sukte Family

The word Sukte developed from a family name into a tribal name under Khan Thuam. The life of Khan Thuam marks a crucial change in the history of Tedim. The Tedim speakers under the rule of Sukte developed from independent village states into a more unified people. So the Sukte family deserves to be given a brief study.

According to their origin myth, Sukte was born of an unnamed widow who lived in the land called *Khul* and *Ciim*. The widow migrated from there to Mualleng where she bore the child to be named Sukte. Again with her son she moved to Luika after her settlements at Tumang, Pakzang, and Simzang. Sukte married a woman of Luika. While Luika capital increased to as many as thirty households, a catastrophe fell and the land at which the capital was situated was totally ruined by a landslide. All the villagers save Sukte and his mother perished in the ruin.⁹² Sukte, the myth says, reached Mualbem via Bangzang-Sekzang. On the other hand, according to those with whom Carey and Tuck had personal interview, the progenitor of the Suktes, too, commence life at Ciimnuai and the tribal name Sukte was the word applied to those who went down to

90. After Khan Thuam conquered nearly all the whole of Tedim area, he made his eldest son Kam Hau ruler of Tedim. When Kam Hau became great, he held a Feast in which fifty mithuns were sacrificed. To the Feast he invited all relatives and allies. According to customs, the sacrificed victims were cut into parts. Then Kam Hau offered the invited guests to take the portion of the sacrificed animals as each of them thought entitled. Then the Limkhai chief took the fore-leg as his due for the relation of Khan Thuam to Zel Vum as overlord and vassal; the Lang Za's house took the hind-leg with no specific reference. (According to customs, each portion of or part of a sacrificed animal is distributed among the relatives with reference to how one is related to the sacrificer). Pum Za Mang, the great grandson of Kam Hau, succeeded the chieftainship of Kamhau Tract. One day, the Chief quarrelled with Tuang Za Go, the great grandson of Lang Za. In their quarrel, both exchanged words of claim and accusation in which Tuang Za Go asserted that Khan Thuam became the slave of Lang Za on account of the fact that he was as once saved by Lang Za. Tuang Za Go referred as the proof of his assertion to the choice of the mithun's hind leg on the occasion of the Feast held by Kam Hau. Tuang Za Go also gave as evidence of his claim the personal names such as Za Pau, Za Khai, Za Niang, etc. which Tuang Za Go interpreted as names given after Lang Za. Pum Za Mang refuted Tuang Za Go's claim saying that the mithun's hind leg did not represent the token for lordship, but brotherly relationship; the prefix *za* in the personal names had not been after Lang Za, but only after *khuza-za* (hundred villages) that the Sukte ruled. (*Khamtung mite Tangthu* by Thang Tuan)

91. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:140.

92. Son Cin Lian, *The Early History of Tedim Area*.

Mualbem which lies below or south of Ciimnuai. Relating to the same case, Rev. Thang Kam says that Mang Kim, the father of Khan Thuam, came to Mualbem from Zawlnu.⁹³ Carey and Tuck note also that Mang Piang's head was buried in Mualbem.⁹⁴ Mang Piang represents the sixth and Mang Kim represents the ninth of Sukte genealogy. One is not certain whether the presence of Sukte family in Teizang (Mualbem) was interrupted by a period of separation from there. It is evident that Sukte is not included in the table of tribes who founded Mualbem. So it seems clear that Sukte came to Teizang after its founding. A comparative study of Ciimnuai genealogies shows that Nei Zal, the founder of Khuasak and Mang Tun, the father of Mang Piang, were contemporary at generation.⁹⁵ So one has to conjecture that the coming of Sukte to Teizang may have been much later than that its chronicle claims. Myth similar to that of Luika settlement is told commonly in almost all sources of Zo tradition. It is, therefore, impossible to take this myth as being referred to the Luikaa to the south of Ciimnuai. The coming down of Sukte from the Tedim Ciimnuai looks like a reconstruction of legend in identification of Sukte with the peoples whom it ruled. It seems that the Sukte family probably under Mang Cin or Mang Tun came to Teizang not from the north, but from the south. One can safely say that the Sukte family did begin at Teizang with Mang Piang as the founder of the family in Tedim. The name itself strongly suggests that Sukte came in as a people, not as a person. It is unthinkable how many generations were omitted between Sukte and Mang Cin, (Mang Tun,) who were undoubtedly historical figures. The Sukte family, too, may have tradition in which the family was handed down as a ruling tribe. The fear of Falam alone could not have held together his conquered peoples in a degree of unity. The personal names of the pedigrees like Mang Cin, Mang Tun, and Mang Piang are strongly suggestive of its noble descent. More research needs to be made as to whether Sukte was one and the same historical figure with the one called *Sokte* with whom King Anawrahta once feuded.

This bold analogy of history even recalls what an old Zahau-man spoke of as a tale of migration through great rivers and vast plains to reach Rallang in Chin Hills.⁹⁶ It is not known whether Lehman ever thought of the history of the Northern Zo in the trend already mentioned. One can be easily led to think in that way when he read a passage of the statement made by Lehman as follows:-

These groups probably contributed to the development of more ramifying political systems, sometimes with chiefs, and they were also probably ancestral to at least the ruling lineages throughout much of the area⁹⁷

What Lehman describes as "more ramifying political systems" could not have been a development of civilization in Chin Hills. Instead, it looks as if the standard of civilization that was once achieved degenerated in the seclusion of the hill-home. It can neither be a borrowing from the lowland civilization. So it is not improbable that the Sukte and the Zahau preserved the civilization that they brought with them from afar.

93. Rev. Thang Kam, *The History of the Tedim under the Rule of Sukte and the Chronicle of Dim Tribes*.

94. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:118.

95. See Appendix III, "Tables of the Northern Zo Genealogy"

96. Revnd. Dr. E.H. East, *Burma Manuscript*, Compiled by Tim Morsh, duplicated and distributed by C. Thang Za Tuan, (Falam : 1983), 57

97. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 18.

After living for a certain period in Ciimnuai, the fleeing band of forty households increased in numbers to make new settlements at other places. These first new settlements were probably, Saizang, Dimp, Mualbem, Balzang, Suantak, Kaalzang, Vangteh-Botung from which they spread into the present places. These settlements existed as independent village states like the Greek city-states, and Mualbem was one among them. In about two centuries after the founding of Ciimnuai, there arose some village heads who took to themselves the dignity of *Mang*(Lord) and strove to exert their influence beyond the bound of their village territories. The word *Mang* is a Northern Zo title conferred on tribal chiefs, probably equivalent to king, or ruler. Of these *Mangs*, the Tedim chronicle says, *Mang-Kua*. Nine rulers, collaborated to kill Khan Thuam who proved himself promising to become a competent contender for power in the intra-tribal relationship. This incident is said to have led Khan Thuam to flee to Falam. Having been trained under Khuang Ceu, the Zahau *Mang*, he came back accompanied by followers from the country of Tai Shun, he first marched on Vangteh, the centre power under the rule of Guite, in revenge for the ill-treatment upon him by his overlord Pau Hau. He then carried on his advance against his adversaries in Tedim area and extended his conquest to as far north as Manipur. He subdued one village state after another and made all the contending *Mangs* save the Sihzang *Mangs* subordinate to him. He had five sons of whom Kam Hau was the eldest and Za Pau was the youngest. He made Kam Hau ruler in Tedim and Gawh Pau in Saizang. According to the Sukte custom, Za Pau the youngest, inherited his lordship at Mualbem, the seat of Sukte house. So he uttered thus,

Siahtaang kaihna Teimei donge,
 Ka hialna Lamtui hi;
 Sakciang Teimei Khang ciang Lamtui,
 A lai-ah Kamkei hing e.

[What I rule extends to Manipur in the north,
 And ends at Falam in the south;
 Manipur to the north and Falam to the south,
 I am the tiger in the middle.]

Khan Thuam of Sukte was the real ruler who ever in the history of Tedim could unite all the feuding village-states except the Sihzangs under one authority. He is the *Mang* in the true sense of the title, who made the tribal name Sukte known to represent in place of Guite all the miscellaneous clans and families of the Paihte and to have unified them into a formidable tribe called the Suktes. In the strict sense of political conception, he is the *Mang* of *Mangs*, the king of kings or the chief *mang* or the Hegemon, of feudal states in Tedim area, who ruled over his own tribes. Carey and Tuck employ the title "chief" to describe the authority of Sukte house under Khan Thuam. This sense needs be restored to its proper form. There is a great difference in historical and traditional sense between chieftainship represented by Hau Cin Khup under the rule of the British and that applied to the suzerainty of Mualbem under Khan Thuam. The point is that where the chieftainship of Hau Cin Khup, the last Chief of Kamhau Tract, was subordinated to the Sub-Divisional Office at Tedim, the authority of Khan Thuam was subordinated to none. Mualbem under Khan Thuam was the capital of Sukte State and Khuasak under Mat Tuang represented the capital of the Confederation of Sihzang Tual States. Therefore, the title "chief" as interpreted and employed by Carey and Tuck could only be applied to those tribal chiefs under the British rule since 1896. In the light of this sense, Khan Thuam was properly a ruler, perhaps, equivalent to king, but Kam Hau and Gawh Pau were true chief in relation to Mualbem under Za Pau, the tribal head.

To confer kingly title upon Khan Thuam, however, may not have certainly conformed to true history. The rule of Khan Thuam was preceded by that of the Guite Mang. The political sanction that enforced the rule of Sukte is quite different from that which enforced that of the Guite. During the founding period of Ciimnuai, the village not ruled by Guite was considered non-durable, because the belief then involved that legitimacy affected perpetuity in existence. But under the rule of Khan Thuam, the village not ruled by the Sukte was considered non-durable, because the village not recognized by the Sukte was liable to invasion by the Falams. For instance, Khuangen was founded by the Suante clan from Kaalzang and was situated between the present villages of Phunom and Thangnuai. Its chief was Phung Lai who was allied with Khuasak through the marriage of his son Hang Thuk with Ciin Hong, the daughter of Khuasak. It is said that Khuangen was invaded and destroyed by the Falams. Falam army was notable for its high discipline. It is said that the spear-man on sentry kept so stationary that the bird *Khankha* in Tedim alighted on the pointed edge of his spear. Falam invasion was referred to as *Poi-gal*, the name at once associated with terror and brutality. The *Poi-gal* was so feared that villages sought the legal recognition by the Sukte house.

In the true sense of politic, where Guite ruled through the acceptance of its noble descent, the Sukte ruled through fear. As a matter of fact, Tedim was under Falam and Khan Thuam ruled it as the vassal of Falam Suzerainty, the Zahau ruling house. This point is more evident in the form of the heavy tributes paid to the Zahaus by the Suktes;⁹⁸ that is the Tedims. This traditional background is very like to have been an influential factor that had led the British administration to place the Deputy Commissioner Office of Chin Hills District, at Falam town. Chief Kam Hau died in 1868 and Khaw Cin, his youngest son, assumed the Kamhau chieftainship in 1871. Khaw Cin, too, died in 1891 in the midst of war with the British army. After the war was over the British Government appointed Hau Cin Khup, the younger son of Khaw Cin's elder brother Hau Pum, to the chieftainship of Kamhau Tract, owing to the fact that Khaw Cin died heirless. There had been no demarcation of village tracts and tribal areas. One could own estate in any place outside his area. The new system of administration under British rule required village tracts and tribal areas to be clearly stated. It was only in 1910 that territorial areas within the Tedim sub-Division were defined.

The Zahaus then represented by Chief Van Nawl and the Suktes represented by Chief Hau Cin Khup were at dispute over the claims of tribal areas. Hau Cin Khup claimed that under his grandfather (Kam Hau), his Tract covered Khawzim-hill, Cauleng-hill, and Bapi-pass. Van Nawl, too, claimed this as his since under his grandfather, Khuang Ceu. Hau Cin Khup, Thang Tuan says, repeated and re-affirmed

98. The tributes paid to the Zahaus contain such items in kind as follows :-

- (a) *Siapi pakhat* (one male mithun) as village tribute paid by the Sukte chiefs
- (b) *Lukhawng Sepi pakhat*, paid as funeral sacrifice by the Sukte chief in the event of the death of Zahau chief.
- (c) *Phiangsiah Sepi pakhat*, paid by every village tri-ennially.
- (d) *Thival siah or Seuriat siah*, paid annually
- (e) *Tuhmui hreitung*, paid annually (eight each)
- (f) *Sete or Sialsiah*, paid annually for the villagers of Rallang
- (g) *Kedam seuhnih*, paid for the tax collectors by every villages
- (h) *Vokte le arte siah*, paid for the tax collectors as travelling allowances
- (i) There were other miscellaneous collections for the village elders of Rallang

(Taken from "History of Zahau" by Ral Dun, April 1, 1950, 20-21)

his claim at which Van Nawl was so energized that he yielded to the decision made in favour of his overlord Van Nawl.

After the clarification of the tribal boundaries, the Government notified that no one but Hau Cin Khup could collect taxes within the Tract so defined. As was entitled, Hau Cin Khup did collect his due within his Tract which covered the present Gun-gal country (Trans-Manipur river), where such significant villages as Tuithang, Muizawl, Laitui, Mualnuam, Tuitawh, etc. are situated. The chiefs of these contending villages commonly opposed the tax collection contending that the right to settle there was brought with rupee coins from Con Bik of Falam. Eventually, Hau Cin Khup prevailed as he was the only chief recognized to rule the Tract and all chiefs but Pau Khen of Muizawl yielded to pay the tax.⁹⁹ Pau Khen, the grandson of Mang Gin of Hatlang family, stubbornly carried on the opposition which led him to his exile to Khuangli in Falam. Chief Pau Khen did not seem to be aware of the change that the owner of Gun-gal country was no longer either Kam Hau or Con Bik, but that it was Queen Victoria who ruled Tedim through the tribal chief of the land. Relating to the ownership of Gun-gal country, Rev. Thang Kam, another story-teller, says that Thuam Thawng, the chief of Saizang, transferred his house to Kapteel for the settlement of which he paid to Con Bik a pair of elephant-tusks, a gyal (gavaus frontalis), and a woman-captive named Vansingpuii.¹⁰⁰ All this evidence points to the fact that the Gun-gal country of the Tedim area was formerly under Taishun Chief, the brother family of Zahau. It is not clearly known how the Zahaus could have a say over it.

Gun-gal country seems to have been first inhabited by the Ciimnuais and their related tribes. The Thahdos, the Lusheis, the Gangtes, and the Raltes were probably the founders of settlements there. There is mention in both the Tedim and the Falam chronicles of a branch of Thahdo tribes known to the Zahaus as *Tangsat* and to the Tedims as *Taksat* with whom the Zahaus were once at feud. The Zahau source mentions that the name Innbuk- tlang was given in reference to the big hut on the hill above the Vutbuak village, where the Tangsats led by their chief Nek Lam encamped to make a raid on Rallang under its Chief Thang Bur. There is no mention of any conquest of the area by either the Zahaus or the Taishuns in the Tedim chronicle. Neither is Khan Thuam mentioned to have ever conquered and ruled the disputed country. According to all these records, it looks as if the traditional right asserted by the Falams (Zahaus or Taishuns) over the country in question might have been based on claim rather than conquest. The Taishuns who installed Khan Thuam as the ruler of Tedim had indeed the legitimate right to claim not only the Gun-gal country, but also the Sukte area under Khan Thuam who was virtually their vassal. The choice of the present Falam town for the seat of the Chief Mang by the British administration corresponds to the history and tradition of "Chin Hills".

The political relationship between Falam and Tedim had not been only determined by force of arms, it had been tied with the sense of kinship. This relation is patterned on a type of confederation where Khan Thuam ruled his tribes free of outside interference, and Khuang Ceu just observed whether Khan Thuam was loyal and obedient to his suzerainty. In fact, Khuang Ceu, the Zahau Mang, deserves to be given the title equal to king.

99. Thang Tuan, *Khamtung mite Tangthu*.

100. Rev. Thang Kam, *The History of Tedim under the Rule of Sukte and the Chronicle of Dim tribes*.

It has already been said that Khan Thuam made his eldest son Kam Hau ruler of Tedim and his youngest son Za Pau inherited the Sukte house. Chief Kam Hau is told as a wise and an able leader. He ruled with the assistance by a council-like form of elders selected from other clans and tribes. The chronicle says that Khoi Lam from Hatzaw clan assisted the chieftain in matters relating to Law and Order, and Mang Gin from Hatlang clan assisted in matters relating to War and Peace. Other elders include Pau Vum who served as somewhat like Secretary and Kim Thuam, Pau Am, Cin Kim, and Tel Khai serving as members. As a result of the oligarchic rule, peace was maintained and security of human life was ensured within the Province. Thus people from surrounding areas came and took refuge therein. The capital, therefore, increased to as many as three hundred households. The peoples who lived in Tedim under Kam Hau are said to have comprised such significant tribes as Saizang, Teizang, Vaipei, Thahdo, Guite, Zo, etc. A Vaipei song that tells the oligarchic rule of Kam Hau is preserved as this:

*Sinthu soi ding Tual Awn' pa,
Dokim tu lu Am Thang' pa aw.
Dokim tu lu Am Thang' pa aw,
Vannuai lutsial a tun'na Za Tual' pa aw e.*

[The Statesman Tual Awn's father,
Generalismo Am Thang's father.
Generalismo Am Thang's father,
The collector of any riches Za Tual's father.]

(Tual Awn's father refers to Khoi Lam, Am Thang's father refers to Mang Gin, and Za tual's father refers to Kam Hau).

The dialects brought to Tedim capital with the fleeing peoples were mingled there with one another whereby evolved into one language that had not been there before. This evolved language Rev. J.H. Cope called 'Kamhau Dialect' and he prescribed it to be taught in the vernacular schools in Tedim area. It is in fact the Tedim dialect proper. Another point that deserves to be mentioned is the development of customs into a unified system under the rule of Kamhau house. Tedim capital was the seat of the supreme court to which grievances and injustices were referred to. The varied practices of customary laws within the Province were adjusted whenever chance permitted with the result that a unified system of customary laws came into practice. This is also called "Kamhau Customary Laws"¹⁰¹ By these means and through these processes of development, the word Kam Hau, the personal name transformed into Kamhau, the word associated with the sense of cultural unit distinctive from that practised within the Sukte area and also with a social group as well in relation to other tribal groups. The name was thus transmitted into a term representing a tribal group. This spontaneous development marks the origin of the *Kamhaute*, the people of Kamhau.

Prior to the British occupation, the Tedims known to the outside world as Paihne had already been grouped into Three major tribes, namely, the Suktes the Sihzangs, and the Kamhaus, formidable with fire arms to render General Faunce a considerable strength of opposition in his colonial war with the Northern Zos.. The Kamhaus represented the centre power in the feuds and strifes with other tribes such as the Lusheis,

101. Captain Pilot. *Kamhau Customary Laws*. 1925.

the Manipuris, etc. What is remarkable is that the Kamhaus took the lead of the Sukte tribes to war and peace. It was Kam Hau who led his tribesmen to victories over those alien tribes and made himself known to his victims as a dreadful name. He was the real figure which made the Tedims (Sukte, Sihzang Guite and Kamhau) reknown to the Chin Hills frontier as Kamhaus.

Inspite of the glory and fame that the Tedims acquired under Kam Hau, one could not help regret the division of the Suktes into 'Suktes' and 'Kamhaus'. According to tradition, Tedim capital must have been subordinate to Mualbem capital to which it had a filial obligation. Relating to the division of Sukte, Carey and Tuck give a remark as follows:-

Kanhaw, however, had already founded a village called Tiddim in the midst of his father's conquests and although by right of custom he was subordinate to his younger brother, he nevertheless ruled his villages so absolutely that the Sokte tribe became known as two separate communities; those villages directly under Yapow adhering to the tribal named Sokte, whilst those ruled by Kanhow took the name of Kanhowte or Kanhow's people, who are known to this day as the Kanhow clan of the Sokte tribe.¹⁰²

In tradition, Za Pau symbolized the fatherhood of Sukte, but in order of seniority, he was junior to Kam Hau by birth. Whether the rise of Tedim to a powerful tribe enhanced or diminished the prestige of Mualbem, would have depended upon how Kam Hau related his victories and triumphs to his father's house. There is mention of an instance where the elder sons of Kam Hau weakened the rule of Sukte instead of strengthening it as reproduced below:

Ko Chim's rule in his latter years was much weakened by the behaviour of his brothers, whom he allowed to leave his capital and reside in outlying villages where, surrounded by their immediate following, they worked for their own interests at the expense of the interests of a united Sokte tribe.¹⁰³

Thang Tuan relates that Chief Hau Cin Khup claimed to the British Government the rights and privileges enjoyed by his forefathers, which affected the separation of Kamhau Tract from the Sukte area. One day after his appointment to the chieftainship of Kamhau Tract, Thang Tuan says, Hau Cin Khup paid a filial visit to Mualbem where he was warmly received and entertained with savory food and drink by his host, the chief's wife. In the course of the conversation between the host and the guest, the host said, "I do not see good at all of the Suktes, being born together of Khan Thuam, of whom you were the eldest, but yet of whom there are Suktes and of whom there are Kamhaus". To this remark the Chief responded saying, "It is not that we separated ourselves, but because we were annexed by the white people". Under Hau Cin Khup, the country of Mualbem which extended to the border of Manipur in the north and to Falam in the south was divided into two tribal areas: Sukte and Kamhau. Mualbem was left with the south of Tedim town. The northern part called Kamhau Tract included 143 villages, including Tedim capital.

102. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:119.

103. Ibid., I:126

It seems to be more convenient to put all the blame for everything wrong upon the colonial rule. In truth the imperialists may not have desired the emergence of a united people under their rule. Yet relating to this particular case, the blame for the division of a tribe must be borne by the tribal chiefs themselves. It is commentable that most of them lacked the vision of how to become a great people. As Carey and Tuck have pointed out, they took to themselves the dignity of rulers equal to that of Khan Thuam's house represented by Za Pau who was their junior by birth. As Carey and Tuck noted,¹⁰⁴ Do Thawng, the heir to Za Pau, could not assume the hegemonic leadership assigned to him by his grandfather Khan Thuam. This fact can also be counted as a part leading to the vision of the tribe.

The Suktes have already been divided since before the coming of the British imperial armies to Tedim. It is thus clear that the British administration did not divide the Suktes, but the Suktes divided themselves. The essential fact underlying the cause for the division is the custom of inheritance by the youngest son. If Kam Hau were Za Pau, the history of Tedim might have been different from what it had been. Yet to this, one may argue that if the Kamhau house had properly adhered to Zo tradition and customs in which legitimacy has priority over seniority, the tribe might not have been divided.

Sihzang Tribe

The Tedim speakers formerly known to the outside world as Paihte or Vuite were grouped into three major tribes, of which Sihzang was one. The name Sihzang in Kamhau dialect is pronounced Sizang in their word and Siyin in Burmese. To this study Sihzang appears to have been more than a family or clan in the sense of tradition. They seem to have represented a significant race. Like other Tedim speakers, they connect their origin with Ciimnuai. If all clans and families in Tedim area trace their descent to a common ancestor named Zo, then the Sihzang may have been 'representatively' Zo. The Thahdos, the Guites, the Thawmtes, and also the Vaipheis are considered to be older tribes of the Tedims. But none of them links their genealogy to Zo. It is the Sihzang genealogy which begins with Zo as the Tedim ancestor. If the culture term *To* for Lord is commonly preserved in all the Tedim dialects, the preservation in Sihzang seems to have retained it in its proper sense, for what other dialects use *teeknu teekpa*, meaning mother-in-law, father-in-law respectively, is addressed *To-nupui*, *To-pasal* in Sihzang. The symbol Zo as their ancestor resembles what the Zos preserve as Zauhang, their progenitor.

The Sihzangs have been constantly leading a cultural and an historical life as envisaged and handed down in Zo tradition, and they built a tribal society modelled on Zo society. To this Sihzang society Carey and Tuck give the political term "confederation".¹⁰⁵ They had always preserved their independence and had maintained the dignity and pride that Zo tradition had taught. They had exhibited the type of Zo mentality unyielding to defeats. They fought wars which at times led them to the brink of extinction. Though few in number they were well-known to the hills frontier as a unique people. The ethnic characteristic feature of Zo that this study tries to identify is exemplified by the Sihzangs. So a brief account of the cultural and historical develop-

104. *Ibid.*, 1:126

105. *Ibid.*, I:132.

ment of these unique people is given in a separate sheet under the title "The Confederation of Suantak Tual States".

Thahdo Tribe

Thado with the conventional spelling demonstrates a significant feature in respect of tradition. Its significance lies in the fact that it buries its dead. So it deserves a separate study in brief. The word Thahdo is pronounced *Hta-do* and is written *Thahdo* in the Northern Zo Wade System. To Grierson it pronounces *Thādo*. He says that the Thado use the name Khongzais themselves in conversation with Manipuris.¹⁰⁶ They are now divided into those who prefer Thado and those who prefer Khongzai(Khuangsai) to be their proper name. They were called Kuki in Assam and Bengal. Grierson finds that the name Kuki also comprises other tribes such as the Rangkhols, Hallams, Betes, etc. and he says that the Thados and their co-tribes are usually spoken of as New Kuki, owing to the fact that they came from the Lushai Hills at a latter date than the other hill tribes called Old Kukis. He concludes that though several sub-tribes trace their origin to Thado and his brothers, all these tribes with the exception of Raltes speak the same language called *Thādo-pao*, *Thādo* language. So it is clear that Thado represents a distinct dialect. It is difficult to say when the Thado language was differentiated from that of their relatives, the Tedims. Their word *Pakai* for Lord has been already mentioned to have been adopted after their settlement in the Chin-Lushai Hills.

The Khuangsai source traces their origin back to Ciimnuai from where they spread and lived in such places as Baanzang, Dimti-Sasih, Teizang, Kaalzang, etc.¹⁰⁷ According to Thang Tuan, the Thados from Ciimnuai moved to Gun-gal(Trans-Manipur river), and then moved to such places as Tongsial, Tuithang, Ngalbual, Lalta, Zampi, Thangko, etc. and lived there for many generations. According to him, Thado while living in Zampi had a son, Hau Kip and Hau Kip had an illegitimate son whom Thado gave the name Guite in reference to the child's miraculous birth.¹⁰⁸ The descendants of Hau Kip moved and lived along the Tuivai stream and the descendants of Guite moved down to Lengpang and lived around the Innbuk mual. They were there known as Taksat to the Tedims and Tangsat to the Zahaus.

According to all this record whether of oral or written, the Thahdos were from Ciimnuai. They spread from there to the west and the north in course of times. So Grierson states that the Thado tribe formerly lived in the Lushai and Chin hills where they had established themselves after having expelled the Rangkhols and Betes. The rise of the Lushai chief Lallula in the Lushai Hills and the Sukte chief Khan Thuam in the Chin Hills forced them to move northwards, beginning about 1810, and to live in South Cachar, in Manipur, and in the Naga Hills.

Relating to the origin of the name Thado, story-tellers disagree. One trend of opinion maintains that Thado is personal name of the immediate ancestor and is not inclusive of all Thado speakers. Another thought claims that the name was a royal title with reference to the Thado line of Tagaung dynasty.¹⁰⁹ In fact the Burmese character " " should be transliterated *Tha-to* with the suffix to which signifies the royalty that was once revered and obeyed by ancient tribes.

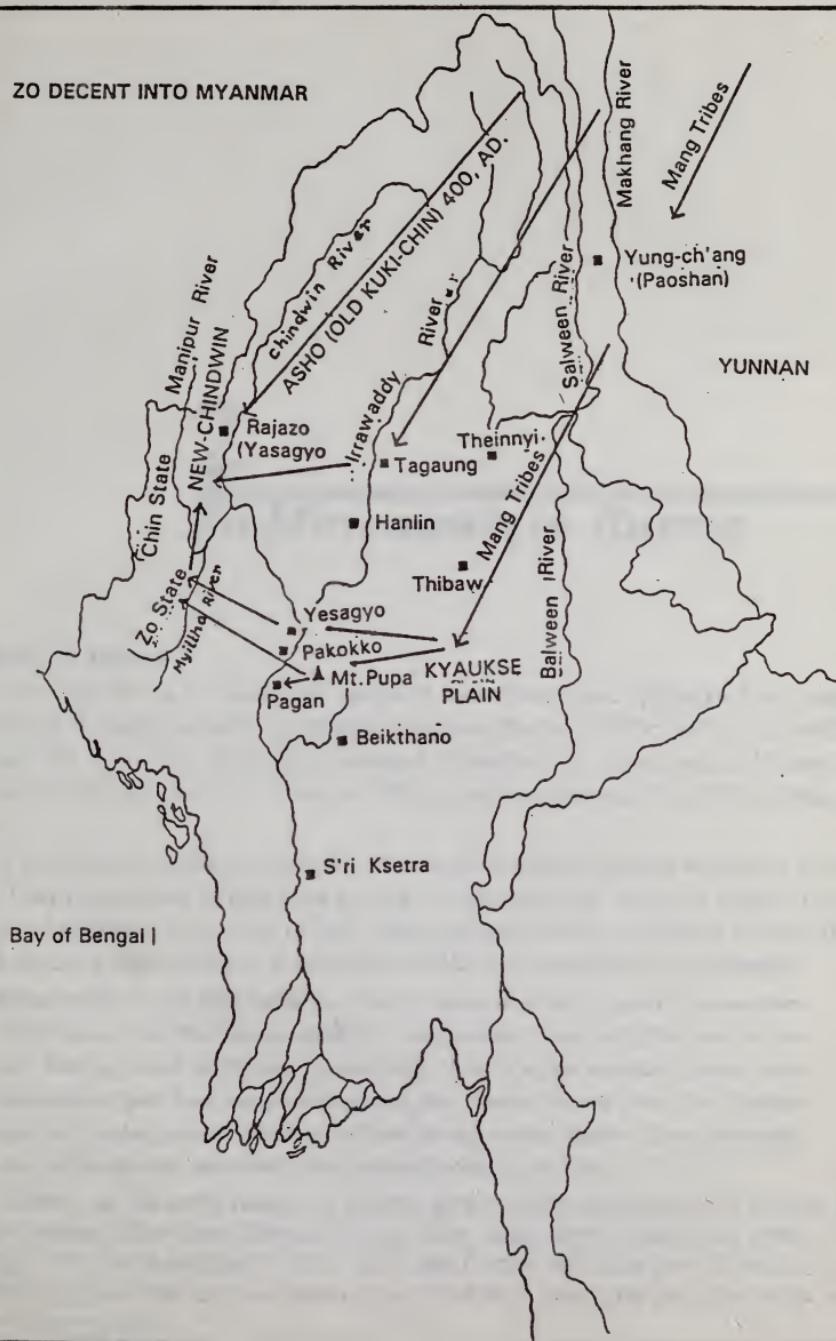
106. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1904, s.v. "Thado"

107. "The Khuangsai Custom Reward" submitted to the Chin Affairs Council, by the Khuangsai Chin Culture Committee, Yetoh village in Tamu township, June 1970.

108. Thang Tuan, *Khamtung Mite Tangthu*, 23.

109. B.S.P.P., *Customs of the Indigenous Races* (Chin), 44.

ZO DECENT INTO MYANMAR



2

Zo Movements in Burma

Zo Entry In Burma

The word Zo as a racial term seems to have been more inclusive than usually considered. So there can not be Zo history apart from that of the Tibeto-Burman speakers to which the Kuki-Chin languages belonged. Therefore Zo movements in Burma can only be studied and identified in terms of the general movements of the Tibeto-Burman tribes.

It has been an established fact that the Tibeto-Burman speakers were from central Asia. They came down in part from groups immigrating into Burma at various period of times. Regarding the pattern of their historical movements, the theory advanced by F.K. Lehman quoted below is worthwhile to note in determining Zo movements.

Ethnic and linguistic differentiation certainly existed at an early period. The ancestors of the Chin and of the Burmans must have been distinct from each other even before they first appeared in Burma. Undoubtedly, these various ancestral groups were descended in part from groups immigrating into Burma, starting about the Christian era. But it is also probable that some of these groups were in Burma in the remote past, long before the date indicated by any present historical evidence¹.

Authors on the early history of Burma give various assumptions as to how the Tibeto-Burman tribes came down to Burma. They came down in part from groups that no single date can be assigned to their entry into Burma. And also they did not come as the social and cultural units as known today that they cannot be identified with any

1. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 12.

particular groups of today. But their common heritage of words similar to one another indicate that they were certainly descended from a common stock of race.

According to C.C. Lowis, since many centuries ago, the Tibeto- Burman groups had existed as a distinct tribe in the east of Central Asian highland from where they came down to Burma following two separate routes. The western route led the river sources of Nmaili Hka - Chindwin, and the eastern route led the river sources of Mekhong -Salween -Nmai Hka². The western Tibeto-Burman group includes the Chins and the Kachins. The eastern group includes those Myanmar who settled in the valley of Irrawaddy, those Mru and Lashi who settled in the valley of Nmai Hka, those Lisaws who settled in the valley of Salween, and those Lahu and Kaw who settled in the valley of Mekhong. Of the western group the Kuki-Chins are supposed to have entered first into Burma and spread into Upper Chindwin, the Chin-Lushai Hills down to the Rakhine Hills to the south. Lowis supposes that they could have settled in the valleys of Irrawaddy and Bramaputra in the remote past.³

Another source maintains that the Zos, too, like the Myanmars, the Kachins, the Nagas and other tribes, belonged to the Tibeto-Burman speakers who lived in the Indo-China Peninsula. Before the dawn of history, the ancestors of the Burmese people reached the sources of Irrawaddy through the mountains in the east of Tibet. Before linguistic differentiation existed among themselves, a group of them not coming down along the Irrawaddy, turned westward and reached the western hills and the Rakhine Hills through the Chindwin valley. These were the Kuki-Chins.⁴ On the other hand, Luce states thus, "At this period, about 100 B.C. the descent of the Tibeto-Burmans, along the line of the three great rivers, the Salween, the Mekong, and the upper Yangtzu, had very likely begun.⁵

There are among the Burmese scholars two contrasting trends of historical approach to the origin of Myanmar. One trend is from Tagaung and the other trend is from the Kyaukse Plains. According to the Tagaung trend, the people who are to be called Myanmar were from their homeland in Manchu valley. They began their southward movements in about 1300 B.C. and appeared in Burma in about the eighth century B.C. to have made their settlement at Tagaung in the sixth century B.C.⁶ nearly almost in parallel with this historical analogy, there is a mention in the Roman records of the first century AD, of the existence of such ethnic tribes known as Mru, Sak, and Zo ethnic tribes in the Rakhine (Arakan) Hills⁷.

Now there has been some convincing evidence to believe that the first wave of Tibeto-Burman speakers were in Burma since before the Christian era. The ancestors of the present Kuki-Chin people who belonged to the Zo generic race may have made their movements in at least two waves during two different periods of time. The first wave could have been those whom Lowis supposes to have settled the valleys of Irrawaddy and Brahmaputra, starting in the last few centuries BC. This group would be

2. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 12

3. C.C. Lowis, *The Tribes of Burma*, "Ethnological survey of India" (Rangoon : Government Printing Press, 1945), 5.

4. Government of the Union of Burma, *Burma Handbook*, (Simla : 1934), 311.

5. Luce, *Pre -Pagan Burma*, I:12.

6. Government of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma (G.S.R.U.B.), *Outline of the Burmese Political History*, (Rangoon : Sapay Beikman Printing Press, 1971), I:122.

7. Ibid., I:194:

what the author of this work describes as "Old Kuki-Chin" who called their king *Shou*. The second wave may have been those who entered into Burma in the first few centuries AD.⁸

Some Chin tribal names seem to indicate their trace from which they come. Although no systematic study has yet been made, some tribal names similar to those of the Chinese minority race suggest their ultimate connection with southern China. For instance, a Chinese minority race called Yao still survives in South China and are living on the Dayao mountains. According to their account as given by Fei Hsiao Tung, the Yao are of five major tribes of which Pan Yao (descendants of Pan Gu) and Hualhan Yao strikingly resemble the Chin tribal names, *Pankhu* and *Hualhang*⁹ respectively. This cultural similarity indicates Chin trace to south China.

Sak Movements

The Zos are usually considered to be an offshoot of the Sak or Sak Kantu in Old Burmese, Thet or Thet Kadu in modern Burmese. It is thus interesting to mention a brief account of Sak. The *Census of India*, 1931, records as Sak speakers Sak, Kadu, Ganan, Daingnet, Taman, and Malin. According to the Census, the Ganans were a branch of the Kadus. They were found in the Katha District, Pinlebu; and Phaungpyin townships. The Saks and the Daingnet were found in the Sittwe (Akyab) district. The Daingnets came there as prisoners of war from the valley of Lower Chindwin, who were captured by King Mindi of Rakhine at the close of the thirteenth century. The Tamans were recorded only in the Upper Chindwin district. What are called Ingye, Malin, etc. were a branch of Taman and were found along the Upper Chindwin and the Kabaw Valley to the west of it, who still spoke Sak language in 1931. The Kadu call themselves not Kadu but Sak or Thet. The Andros, Sengmais, and Chairels in Manipur identified as also Sak speakers.

Pagan inscriptions show that the Sak spread over Central Burma above and below Pagan. They are also mentioned in the Kale chronicle as the aboriginal tribes of the valley. The *Census of India*, 1931 notes the locality in which the Sak first settled was the Irrawaddy valley in the neighbourhood of Tagaung. Pagan tradition says that in North Burma lived Pyu in the east, Kamyam in the west, Sak in the north of Tagaung, and Mon lived in the valleys of Sittaung, Salween, and Irrawaddy.¹⁰ "North India religions entered Burma overland", says Luce, "Via the Sak, from a very early date". The Sak languages, he states, once spread over the whole north of Burma, from Manipur to northern Yunnan.

Pagan inscriptions indicate the word Sak as somewhat like ruling title. For instance, the Mount *Sakciuw* (Mount *Thetso*) meaning 'ruling the Thets', Luce gives the remark as thus:

Pagan ministers, called in Sanskrit *Mahasakti* 'very powerful' soon had their titles corrupted into *Mahasakthit* meaning (I suppose) 'Great Terror of the Thets'.¹¹

Luce takes the village with the name Thamantha between the village of Bawtala and Dodem in the south-east of Cox's Bazaar and Ramu on the Burma side of the border

8. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 13.

9. "Lailun San Thuanthu," *The Genealogical Tree of Hualingo Clan*, III

10. G.S.R.U.B., *Burmese Political History*, I:122

11. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:79

of Bangladesh as Sak speakers. "Between Bawtala and Dodem", says he, "the village of *Thamantha*, a name which at once brought to our minds the important place *Thamanthi*, home of the *Thamans*".¹² *Thamanthi* stands on the west bank of the Upper Chindwin, 60 miles above Homalin. Luce means to relate the Tamans at *Thamanthi* to the *Thamanthas* in Bangladesh.

What is not certain is what feature of language represents Sak. Luce just describes it as 'fragmented' and 'antique'. The author of this work admits his inability to get access to the *Census of India* 1901 which records a selection of Sak words. Nevertheless, what strikes him most is the mention of the name of the hill or mountain *Taung-Yo-daung* at the foot of which stands the Sak village Dodem. Who gave this mountain its name? This question further involves another question, that is who gave the mountains of Burma the title *Yo* as in *Ale Yoma* (the Middle Mountain), *Anauk Yoma* (the western Mountain), *Rakhine Yoma* (Rakhine Mountain), and so forth? This single word seems to illuminate the cultural and historical background of the Sak. If the present villagers of Dodem and Bawtala are genuine Sak speaker as Luce believes it, then one is sure to conclude that the word *Yo* for mountain must have been the Sak language that is 'antique' and 'fragmented'. Based on this fact one is liable to say that the Sak speakers in Bangladesh brought the word *Yo* from their former home in the Upper Chindwin and applied it to the mountains of Bangladesh. The name Sak is foreign to the Tibeto- Burman language. One is thus required to investigate the history in which the Sak got their name.

It is peculiar that Zo origin myths contain a great deal of the sun-egg mythology.¹³ The Zos who claim nobility usually connect their family origin with Egg or Sunray-hit-egg. This tradition owes its source to some cosmic conception which is not of local origin. It seems to be a borrowed one. The concept is associated with the meaning of a descent from sun; that is Solar race. People revered the tribe with solar ancestry. The same conception may apply to the rule of Sak.

Evidence shows that this Sakyan cult came to Burma with the Indo- Aryans. There is a mention in the inscriptions discovered at Tagaung and at the courtyard of Pagan Pagodas, of dynastic eras of which the Saka era is dated at AD 610.¹⁴ Does this date indicate the Aryanic period or the Sakyan reign at Tagaung? But this seems to be in great contrast to the date of the first century AD in which the existence of Sak in the Chittagaung Hills is mentioned in the Roman record of the time. It is not known whether the Tibeto-Burmans themselves brought down the cult which was commonly shared in the traditions of the Tibetans and the Chinese. It is also not certain whether the Aryans had been in Burma since before the Christian era. E.B. Havell mentions the Sakiyas as of Mongolian or Tibetan blood.¹⁵ Did these Sakiyas belong to the Tibeto-Burma speakers? Were these people one and the same tribe with the ruling Aryan in Tagaung?

12. Ibid., I:38

13. Appendix IV, "Origin Myth from Egg"

14. G.S.R.U.B., *Burmese Political History*, 1:127.

15. E.B. Havell, *A History of India*, First Indian Reprint, (New Delhi: Swaran Press, 1979), 38f. "It has been supposed that the Sakiyas, the clan to which Gautama belonged, were of Mongolian or Tibetan blood. There is nothing improbable in supposing that Aryan and Turanian blood had intermingled at the various point near the heart of Asia, where were the meeting-ground for both races long before the time of Buddha... The Sages of Mongolian were at that time moving in the same direction as the great minds of India and Iran, but the tradition of the Sakiyas were Aryan and the Buddha's quest was for the forest path, 'leading to the understanding of life, its coming to be and its passing away'.

The mark of Aryanism imprinted upon the Zos particularly the Southern Chin as represented by the Asho (plains-Chin) is found conspicuous. The Southern type of Chin culture contrasts greatly with that of the Northern on the point that the Southern burns their dead while the Northern buries it. Burying the dead has always been of Zo culture. In connection with this custom, Havell states thus, "The Eastern Aryans have left no burial grounds; the funeral pyre consumed the bodies of their dead and until the Buddhist times, they built no permanent memorials for them".¹⁶ 'The Vedic Aryans were generally monogamous, though their chieftains sometimes has several wives. The Aryan social system was patriarchal and was thus distinguished from the Dravidian which was matriarchal'.¹⁷ This Aryan characteristic feature makes one wonder if the Mi-no people who called their prince *Shou*, who had no cities with inner or outer walls, and who had long white faces, were the Aryans. Whether one accepts it or not, another version of history deserves to be mentioned here.

U Kyan, a retired army major, and a student of Zo tradition and culture, contends that Okkaka of Benaras in India was the Sakya king and Asoka was driven out by Vidadūpa in 600 BC. He escaped to Tagaung with his kinsmen numbering 80,000, where he established the Sakya Empire which lasted until the reign of Anawrahta at Pagan.¹⁸ He sees to it that the word *Sak* (Thet) in Burmese was derived from Sakya and it denotes Life and that the word *Sho*, too, by which the plainsChin designate themselves, denotes *Thet* (Life). U Kyan thus claims that they (Chins) were the descendants of Sakya, or Sakya race.¹⁹ But there are some points to be taken into consideration in determining the ethnology of Sak. For instance, the usage of the name *Sak* as the correlative of Kantu strongly suggests as if people adopted the term in a pious assimilation with the noble image of the solar ancestry in the same case as the Tedims under their chief Kam Hau took later the word Kamhau for their common designation. They may have taken pride in adorning themselves with the noble image of solar race. Yet it is equally possible that the ethnic descendants of the Aryans bore the name that they held sacred.

In relation to the Sak (or Chin) in North Burma, there existed another kingdom known to the Chinese historian Fan Ch'o as *Ta-ts'inP'o-lo-men* which corresponds to the Hukawng valley or the Singkling Hkamti. Regarding this kingdom, Fan Ch'o describes it as follows:-

It is their custom not to eat the flesh of cattle. ... They are in close relation, coming and going with the Ta-erh kingdom. The Man barbarians are friendly with them, and closely trust (?) the kingdom.²⁰

Fan Ch'o does not mention the peoples of Pre-Pagan Burma with the names similar to either Sak or Kantu or even Chien-tu, the Chinese word for Kadu. However, he makes a reference, apart from Mi-no, P'iao, Mi-Ch'en, and Man (Shan), to a people as Ta-erh, meaning the 'big eared'. This 'Big Ear' recalls what is mentioned in Pagan inscriptions

16. *Ibid.*, *A History of India*, 10.

17. *Ibid.*, 21

18. U Kyan, "The Chins, the Aspect of their History and Customary Law", A Tract.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:79

as 'Big Eared Kantu' in contrast to the 'Small Eared Manipuris'. This makes one thing clear that the Ta- ts'in P'o-lo-men were not the same people with the Big Ear people. This point with other evidence has identified the ethnic affinity of the Sak which was Kantu to the Pagan court. The Old Kantu were known to the Burmans as *Santhway pran* (*Thindwe*) and its capital is *Takon* in Old Burmese. Relating to the Sak kingdom, Luce gives the remark as follows:

It is pretty clear from the inscriptions that all this northern part of Burma, between Manipur and Tagaung, apart from the Chindwin, 'Hole of the Chins', was the abode, if not the kingdom, of the Kadu.²¹

He, therefore, concludes thus:-

It looks as if, after the fall of Sri Ksetra in the Eighth century, and before the coming of the Mramma, the three chief powers were the Chins (and Sak) in Upper Burma, the Tircul (or Pyu) in the Central Burma, and Mi-ch'en (perhaps Old PEGU) in Lower Burma.²²

This historical analogy coincides with the statement made by Dr. Emil Forchhammer in regard to the stock of race; that is Zo extending from Assam to Yunnan. The race was represented by 36 clans as mentioned below:-

(1) Zapot zo	(13) Khalei zo	(25) Hmau zo zo
(2) Muzon Zo	(14) Mang ong zo	(26) Khadhu zo
(3) Panzi zo	(15) Un zon zo	(27) Taun dshyop zo
(4) Lei pin zo	(16) Khye zo zo	(28) Ma Ai zo
(5) Zingye zo	(17) Ka zein zo	(29) Mon dhu zo
(6) Talaun zo	(18) Klan zun zo	(30) Kha zak zo
(7) Hlat htaung zo	(19) Zaungdshi zo	(31) Htein zo zo
(8) Lei phyu zo	(20) Tan zo	(32) Hle hlan zo
(9) Ka zek zo	(21) Pwoi tshi zo	(33) Plang zo
(10) Zing hei zo	(22) Men dhet zo	(34) Htun pauk zo
(11) Alei zo	(23) Yein hon zo	(35) Zein lein zo
(12) Got zu zo	(24) Hmo zo zo	(36) Pazan zo ²³

Now it is still necessary to investigate to what tribal group of Zo the name Chin was first applied.

Chindwin Zo

There had been difference between the word *Khyandwan* as a place name, and *Kyan* as a racial name in historical context of the time when the words were recorded in the Pagan inscriptions of the thirteenth century. It has been conventionally taken that Chindwin got its name after the people who once inhabited the region. Luce states that *Khyandwan* (Chindwin) without tonal marks has several senses in Old Burmese and it is not easy to say if one of these is ethnic. He reconstructs the history of Chindwin on

21. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:40.

22. Ibid., I:79.

23. Forchhammer, *The Jardine Prize*, 9.

the assumption that the word may have been ethnic. He traces the origin of the racial name Chin to Chindwin with the conclusion that the name was applied by the Burmans in reference to the 'friendly' relation between the Chindwin Chin and the Burmans.²⁴ Hence his translation of the name Chindwin "Hole of the Chins". It is not known which locality the name Chindwin refers in its original application. As understood today, Chindwin valley covers the region from Alon, north of Monywa, to the south, to Homalin in the north, and to the Kale-Kabaw Valleys some twenty miles in the west of it. Pagan inscriptions mention the place above Monywa as inaccessible. This fact does not seem to favour the Chindwin Zo to make a stable and direct contact with the 'civilized' peoples of lowland in order to adopt the plains civilization as Lehman suggests to be the case.

Regarding Zo presence in Chindwin, Luce takes the culture term *Tangka* (Dangka in Tedim) commonly shared in the languages of the Northern Zo and the Pagan Burmans as the indication that Chin would have been in the Hukong Valley by the middle of the fourth century A.D. in order to have adopted the word for coinage from the name of a Gupta rupee coin of India, brought East by Samudra Gupta in the time.²⁵ By taking the term *Tangka* as an indication, it looks as if the Chindwin Zo including the Northern Zo would have come down to Chindwin via the Hukong Valley whereby cutting off the western tribes of the Thets in Manipur from those in the east. This picture of history, if it was, indicates that the Chindwin Zos were a distinct tribe from the Thets since before their descent into Burma. This, again, seems to be supported by the migration myths of the Thado which tells of their coming down along the Chindwin river. Thado (Thahdo) is the term for a tribe of Kuki which belongs to the Northern Zo. Whatever the fact might have been, the people who called their prince *shou* did exist in Chindwin since before the ninth century A.D. and their royal title demonstrates an identical character with the racial designation *sho* by which the plains-Chins call themselves. All this evidence inevitably leads one to conclude that the Sho belonged to the Chindwin Zo. This history coincides with what the 1904 *Linguistic Survey* of India records as follows:-

They (Sho) are called Chin by the Burmans, and Khyang or Khyeng is the Arakanese pronunciation of this same word. According to their tradition they have come down from the sources of the river Chindwin.²⁶

The racial term Sho originally pronounced Zo is, therefore, likely to have stood for the original stock of race. Here, one needs to note that the name Sho represents a tribal group of Zo in a varied form. It is at the same time imperative to study whether the name Chin was handed down in parallel with Sho or Zo. This will be mentioned under the heading concerned.

The Chindwin Shou seems to have made their historical movements in an adjustment with the movements of the people called Nanchao (Shan). In parallel with Nanchao with their capital at Tali in Yunnan, there were in Burma Zo kingdom extending from Manipur to Yunnan in North Burma with their capital perhaps in Chindwin, Pyu

24. Luce, "Old Kyaikse and the coming of the Burmans," JBRs, June, 1959, 89.

25. Luce, "Chin Hills Linguistic Tour (Dec. 1954) - University Project," JBRs, June, 1959, 25.

26. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1904, Vol. III, Part III, s.v. "Sho or Khyang".

kingdom in Central Burma with their capital at Hanlingyi in Shwebo district, and Mon kingdom with their capital at Kyontu, near Waw, some twenty miles north-east of the present Pegu. If the Nanchao were destined to become a greater power in Burma, they must have first dealt with those great peoples of Burma. Therefore, in 832 A.D.²⁷ and in 835 AD, they raided and plundered the Pyu and Shou capitals respectively. The Pyu were banished into servitude at Che-tung (Yunnan Fu) and the Shou were banished 'to wash the gold of the Li Shui (Irrawaddi)'.

Fan Ch'o does not report Nanchao movement against Tagaung so lauded as the oldest capital in Burma. The dynastic eras mentioned in the inscriptions discovered at Tagaung and the courtyard of Pagan pagodas²⁸ indicate that Tagaung was then under the Indo-Aryan influence. It is thus likely that the Nanchao kept Tagaung on a peaceful term in the same way as they did with the Tibetans.²⁹ This gives one the impression that Tagaung could have offered a place of refuge for the fleeing Chindwin Shou. Luce gives the political picture of Central Burma in the ninth century onwards as the one in which the advancing Burmans from the plains of Kyaukse strove with the former occupants of the Plains, including the Sak and Old Kantu, for the control of it. These Burman movements mark the expansion of Pagan kingdom and in 1228 AD Tagaung was annexed to Pagan.

On the other one, the Kadu (Kantū in Old Burmese) are mentioned in the *Yuan-shih* (AD 1369-70), the history of the Mongol conquerors of China, as *Chien-tu*. *Yuan-shih* describes Tagaung as the "nest and hole of the Chien-tu"³⁰ The conquest of Yunnan by the Mongols in AD 1253 was followed by the successive conquest of Tagaung in AD 1284. There existed a people of the same name with the Tagaung Chien-tu, written in identical characters, at much the same time (AD 1276) in Chien-ch'ang valley in south China. This new find leads Luce to suppose that Chien-ch'ang valley was the home of Chien-tu from where some of them may have found their way to the headwaters of Irrawaddi, the Nmai Hka or Nmali Hka, to reach Waingmaw or Upper Chindwin.³¹ But Luce does not go further to connect the *Chien-tu* of Chien-ch'ang with either the Chindwin Zo or the Big Eared Kantu in North Burma. He identifies these two tribes as same people who have been parted from the Sak for over 650 years.

Shou Capital

The narratives of Man-shu relating to the capital of Chindwin Shou vividly reveal Zo ethnic feature of Sho palace characterized and dignified by the standing golden pillars at the centre of the king's palace. Where was the Shou capital which was plundered by the Nanchao invasion in 835 AD? Did the invasion desolate it? It is strange that no Chin source memorizes such a dreadful event in history. It calls for a further investigation. Fan Ch'o does not specify the place where the Mi-no palace located. He just points to the direction at a distance of '60-day stages' to the south-west of Yung-ch'ang in Yunnan. Yung-ch'ang (now Pao shan) is situated at the place between the great two

27. Luce "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans" *JBRs*, June 1959, 79

28. G.S.R.U.B., *Burmese Political History*, I:127.

29. Dr. R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1972,) 59.

30. Luce, "Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th-13th Century AD" *JBRs*, June 1959, 59

31. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:41-43.

rivers, Salween and Mekhong, in the east of Myitkyina. The south-west direction corresponds to the general region of Mawlaik and Kalewa adjoining the Kale-Kabaw valleys in the west of it, called Kalei (Kale valley) and Khampat (Kabaw valley) each of which was ruled as district in the Jo Province.³² Thangkhangin relates that Khampat was the Headquarters of the district which then extended from the western bank of the Chindwin river to all the hill country of the west. He does not, however, mention the district in the Jo Province where the Jo capital was.

The search for the Shou capital requires one to mention briefly the early history of Kale-Kabaw valleys as told in the Kale chronicle. A chronicle of unknown origin contains a list of princes in which Indian names gave way to Shan. This indicates that Kale was first under the rule of the Indian princes. According to the Nwepat source, Kanrajagyi, the grandson of Abiraja of Tagaung came from Tagaung and founded the first capital at Kaletaungmyo with the name Rājājū.³³ After a long time the descendants of Kanrajagyi had left the capital, three princes from India came and founded a new capital at the place Nwepat with the same name Rajagyo³⁴ (Yasagyo in the *Burma Gazetteer of Upper Chindwin District*). The chronicle as told by Ashin Padhuma takes up the founding legend from this point.³⁵ It claims that at the time Rajagyo was established there was not yet other known capital in Burma except Tagaung on the Irrawaddy.

The Burmese word for the dynastic name transliterated as Rajagyo itself still remains exploratory. Regarding this case, Grant Brown states as follows:-

Yasagyo is itself no doubt a corruption of Rajagrihna, the residence of Buddha and capital of the ancient Magadha. Rajagrihna is identified with the modern Rajgir, in the Patna district of Bengal forty miles to the south east of Buddha Gaya.³⁶

The suffix *gyo* in rajagyo is transliterated also as *ju* by both Za Ruma and K. Zawla. This recalls the character of a princely name *Rajasu* who dedicated a land to Pagan.³⁷

32. Thangkhangin, "Zomi Tenna Masa".

33. Za Ruma who refers the authority of his materials to the Nwepat source of Kale chronicle, relates that after the death of Abiraja of Tagaung, his grandson, Kanrajagyi came along the course of Irrawaddy and Chindwin to Kale and established the first capital at Kaletaungmyo, which he gave the name Rajaju. Shortly after a time, he went down to the Rakhine hills leaving his son Mudusikdaa as ruler of Kale. Kanrajagyi established in Rakhine the Rakhine dynasties. After long time that the descendants of Kanrajagyi had left Kale Indian princes from the country of Rajaju fled to Kale and founded a new capital at the place called Nwepat which they gave the same name Rajaju (Taken from "Lushai Khang tangthu")

34. The Burmese form "ရရာဂ္ဗာ" is transliterated as Yasagyo by Grant Brown. The Burmese alphabet yagauk "ရရာ" in Old Burmese pronounces 'r' and the zagwe "ဂ္ဗာ" pronounces such sounds as similar to 'sa', 'za', 'ja' and so on. In connection with this, G.H. Luce transliterates them as 'ra' and 'ja' as in *Raja-kumtham*, *Ratana-kumtham*, etc., denoting the official titles in the Pagan period. So the spelling *Yasagyo* needs to be written *Rajagyo*.

35. Regarding the Kale chronicle, Ashin Padhuma relates as thus : All the descendants of Ajatathat led by his three sons, namely, Jalamika-raja, Uthikaraja, and Kisna-raja, fled to Kale from their native land called Rajagyo in India and founded a dynasty at the place called Nwepat which they gave the name Rajagyo after their native land in India. At that time there lived in Kale valley the tribes known as Sak, Kantu, Kaget, Kadu, Ingye, Kwan-yi, Shan, and so on; and there was no one to rule over them. The founding of Rajagyo was preceded by a temporary settlement at *Yaw-zana-taing-Arimanya*. A new Rajagyo at the old place at Nwepat was again established by Theinnyin-min-Yo-Saw-U-khan in Kawza 1176 (AD 1253). [Taken from *Kale-myō Thamaing* (Chronicle of Kale-myō) by Ashin Padhuma]

36. Brown, *Burma Gazetteer, Upper Chindwin*, A:8.

37. Luce, "Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th-13th century A.D." JBRS, June 1959, p. 57, "In Natonmya's reign, Prince Rajasu made a dedication of land in the presence of certain Kantu, from whom it had presumably been bought".

One would wonder if this name was one and the same with Rajagyo. The spelling *gyo* produces the same sound as *ju*, *su*, *zu*, *so* or *sho* or *shou* and the like. So any of these words is found quite different from *grihna* in any form of deviation or corruption. It is, therefore, difficult to accept that the suffix *gyo* was corrupted from *grihna*. It may have been rather a pious assimilation of the dynastic name with the place of Buddha. Based on the ethnical background of Chindwin, there is fair reason to believe that the character of Rajagyo or Rajaju would have been *Raja-sho* or *Raja-shou* in which the Indian term *raja* for ruling title was suffixed with the native character *sho* or *shou*. Yet it is still not certain whether *Raja-shou* was one and the same capital with the Mi-no capital in the ninth century.

Khampat is now a big village on the motor road from Kalemyo to Tamu, at the distance of forty three miles from Kalemyo. Indeed, Khampat purports the Shou capital in respect of the fact that it is told in the Mizo source as the first and the oldest capital of Zo settlement, not walled, located within the Jo Province. B. Lalhangliana dates its founding as at the middle of the ninth century,³⁸ the same date of the destruction of the Shou capital. Khampat was deserted by the Mizos because of the Shan invasion in the middle of the sixteenth century and the Mi-no capital was plundered by the same tribes called Nanchao in 835. So Khampat contrasts the Mi-no capital in chronology.

And, again, Rajagyo purports Shou capital in respect of the fact that it had existed in parallel with Tagaung and its very name demonstrates Zo ethnic character, but contrasts Shou in the fact that Rajagyo was walled. There is, however, reason to believe that the walls were built by the Shan ruler who established second Rajagyo in the same place of Nwepat.

On the other hand, one is not sure if what is mentioned in the Kale legend as Maha Vong³⁹ in the east of Thanlawaddy (Chindwin) river represents the Mi-no capital.

The Northern Route To New-Chindwin

What has been mentioned so far is concerned with the movements of the Shou or Old Kuki- Chin with reference to Chindwin in the general sense of the Valley. Now what is mentioned under this heading will refer to the Northern Chin movements relating to their coming to the Kale- Kabaw Valley. From now on, this "Valley" will be referred to as New- Chindwin in distinction from the Chindwin proper, which includes the Valleys along the Chindwin river.

The Nwepat source of Kale legend tells as if the Northern Zos were originated from the racial admixture of peoples of Kale - Kabaw Valley. This tradition is found coincided with Luce's statement that the ancestors of the Northern Chins were plainsmen in the Chindwin Valley for several centuries until forced out of it by the Shan in the fourteenth century.⁴⁰ Luce may have made this statement based on the fixed opinion that all Zo languages were from Chindwin. Lehman, too, seems to have adopted this idea when he ascribes the more modified mode of Northern Chin culture to a stable and direct contact with the civilised peoples of lowland. So, it is interesting to make a further study in

38. Lalhangliana, *Mizo in Burma* "Chronology."

39. Ashin Padhuma, *Kale-myo Thamaing*, [The Chronicle of Kale-myo], 30. "In the Buddhist Era 92, before Nwepat was founded, Prince Kisna-raja was made ruler of Maha Vong, the name given in collective reference to the peoples, Kadu, Kaset, Thet, and Kwan-yi in the east of Thanlawaddy-Chindwin river".

40. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:86.

reference to what are mentioned in traditions regarding the Northern Zo or the New Kuki-Chin route to New- Chindwin.

It has been mentioned that the contrast between the Northern Zo and Southern Zo is marked by the custom of dealing with the dead. Where the southern type including the Burmans burns it, the Northern type buries or keeps it in cave. This latter type of culture is one of the significant features of Zo culture. The southern type of funeral custom indicates that both the Southern Zos and the Burmans were once under the Aryans influence to have adopted the custom. It is known from the report of Fan Ch'o that the Brahmins and the Big-eared people lived side by side in upper Chindwin. This cultural contact could very well have been the history in which the Chindwin Zos adopted the Aryans custom, and the plains-Chins represent the type. Had the Northern Zos come down from the Upper Chindwin, they, too, would have got the same custom.

According to J. Gin Za Tuang, a student of Zo history, of Zo peoples those who bore Zo as their racial name came down, following the trace of those who bore the name Chin along the Chindwin river called *Tuikang*, the white river, to reach Kalewa. They, from there dispersed into different directions and the northern Zos reached the New-Chindwin which they called *Khawlzang* in their languages.⁴¹ Gin Za Tuang reconstructs Zo history as thus by taking the Zo metaphor *Khawkhen* as an indication and he identifies it with Kalewa. The legendary term *Khawkhen* strikingly resembles the Tibetan poetic term *Khaw achen*⁴² which refer to the abode of snow, Tibet. So the coming of the northern Zo to New -Chindwin by following the Chindwin river seems to be unlikely.

The first numerals of the Taungha dialect⁴³ clearly show that the Taunghas belonged to the Northern Zo. The Taunghas who inhabit the Yaw and the Myittha valley claim their origin from Popa hill. Relating to this tradition, Major R.M. Rainey describes the tribes as follows:-

The Yindus state that their origin is similar to that of the Taunghas, an industrious race who inhabit the Yaw and Myittha valleys in Burman territory, and who claim to have come from Popa hill. The Chinboms, further south, point out a rock which they state is the body of a Min or official who was killed in a quarrel with his brother when they were emigrating from Popa, and was turned into a stone. The brother returned to Popa.

The Chinboms claim Burman origin.⁴⁴

This Southern legendary route through the Central Plains of Burma reminds one of another route from *Zotlang* to *Myinle tlang* through Yasagyo in Pakokku area.⁴⁵ *Myinle tlang* is situated at the border area between the townships of Falam and Hakha, near the place bordering Magwe Division. A mountain called Zo tlang is indeed in the west of Falam town and some source of Falam myths connects their migration movements with it. It is verified that the name Zo tlang was brought down from Tibet and applied it to the mountain in Chin Hills. Another source from Thantlang mentions a settlement place somewhere in Kale township, with the name somewhat like *Za-zu*.⁴⁶ This legendary name purports the dynastic name Ragagyo in the New-Chindwin.

41. Gin Za Tuang, *Zomi Innkuam Laibu*, 5. (Zo placation cites, "Khimpi ziin ni, Khapi kiat ni, *Khawkhen* ah, *Khawlzang* ah kikhawl nung,....")

42. W.D. Tsepon Shakapa, *Tibet : A political history*, (New Havens and London : Yale University Press, 1967), 1.

43. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1904, s.v. "Southern Chin Sub-Group"

44. *Ibid*,

45. Personal interview with Ro Thang, former Parliament Member from Thantlang Constituency, Hakha, on December 20, 1981.

46. "Lailun San Thuanthu" 105.

J. Gin Za Tuang collects some reports about Zo traces in the plains.⁴⁷ He mentions U Sein Nyo as saying that in the east of Sagaing bridge is an old settlement place where a man named Pu Chin once lived and that the place was likewise the discovery of an inscription which records Chin settlement at the confluence of the two rivers, Chindwin and Irrawaddy to the south of Sat-hton village within Sagaing Division. U Khin Maung Than mentions that the invasion of the Zo settlement by Minye Kyawwa is inscribed with definite date. Relating to the same story, U Khan Tin Zam is also said to have reported such material as belonging to Zo were unearthed in the Sat-hton village area. U Daung is also quoted as saying that during his boyhood, he used to rear cattle in the area at which the present Sibanyi is situated and that the place was then a jungle with big trees in the midst of which was still standing *Chin phaya* (Zo sacrificial pillar) measuring about nine fathoms in height.

All this report seems to verify and support another legendary route as mentioned in the Suante source of Tedim migration myth. The legend says that Zo ancestors from Tibet directly descended into the plains of Irrawaddy through the place between the rivers Chindwin and Irrawaddy and made their settlement at Amarapura.⁴⁸ The place name was Amarapura given after its founder. In parallel with this legend the Burmese Encyclopaedia records that the tribes of Thado and Yo are supposed to have once lived in Burma proper.⁴⁹ Who were these plainsmen? The wooden pillar called *Chin phaya* demonstrates the Tedim pattern of sacrificial pillar. It, therefore, tends to authenticate the Tedim legendary connection with the place somewhere to the east of Sagaing bridge.

In parallel with the general picture of Chin movements as given by Lowis, the Khuangsai source relates Zo migration movements from Manipur (*Phaipi* in Khuangsai) down to the Rakhine coast; they returned back from there by passing through such places as Pakokku, Salingyi, etc., and reached Chindwin⁵⁰ (Kale-Kabaw Valley). This legendary account, though not reliable, seems to support the Roman record which reports the existence of Zo ethnic tribes in the Rakhine area in the first century A.D. Regarding the same case, Lehman also gives his view as thus :

Indeed, one may suppose that they had moved south, east, and then north, and occupied the Chindwin valley before the Burman got there.⁵¹

Chin ancestors were a feuding and a moving tribe, following the trial of one to displace the former. This mode of Zo historical existence still continued on until the British occupation of the Hills. Did the Chindwin Zo spread here and there in Burma before their occupation of the New-Chindwin? The Tedim vocabulary, too, is not without borrowing. For instance, while it retains the Zo title *mang* for king or *ruler*, it borrows *kumpi* (kumbay) for the same title. While it contains the Zo terms, *vangpha* and *vang sia* denoting fortunate and unfortunate respectively, it borrows the Sanskrit *kaam*⁵² (karm) for luck. All this indicates that the Tedims, too, had passed through the cultural spheres of Aryan and Mon. Yet it is difficult to identify the place from where the Tedim got these alien words. Luce notes Old Mon influence in Chindwin. Relating to this case,

47. Gin Za Tuang, *Zomi Innkuam Laibu* ,5.

48. Tun Pau, *The Chronicle of the Suante Clan*, (Phunom : 1970)

49. Burmese Encyclopaedia, s.v. "Chin Special Division."

50. The Report on, "The History and Culture of the Khuangsai Chin" to the Central Security and Administrative Committee, The Revolutionary Government of the Union of Burma, by the Khuangsai Chin Cultural Revival Committee, Khamti District, 1972.

51. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 20

52. The Tedim strange term *Kaam* may have been derived from *karma* which is the cosmos determined by the Karma or the accumulative effect of conduct in the past upon the present one (E.P. Havell, *A History of India*, 30.)

the Tedim source according to the Hatzaw clan says that Zo ancestors came down from Tibet along the Irrawaddy river and settled at its bank in the central part of Burma, and they lived there together with the Mons⁵³. Regarding Mon history, Luce states that the strength of Mon had lain along the present 'railway valley' to the east and that Kyaukse itself must have been mainly Mon.⁵⁴ Did the Tedim speakers come from Kyaukse ?? All this suggests to one to suppose that the Tedims adopted the Mon title from Central Burma if it was not from Kyaukse.

Apart from this Pagan literary context, there are some archaeological findings purportive of Chin trace to the Plains of Burma. Though not so convincing enough, these findings deserve to be mentioned. Discoveries of etched-onyx beads were made at an old cemetery near the Tawdwin village in the ruined city called Mongmao in the Kyaukse Plains. Similar discoveries were made also at Taungthaman in Upper Burma and at Ban Chiang in the north-east of Thailand.⁵⁵ Burmese archaeologists believe that these materials belonged to the Pyu who could have made them with all kinds of valuable stones. Whether it was primarily of Pyu, etched-onyx beads are called today *Chin-patti*, 'Chin-bead' in Burmese, probably because Zo highly prized them and Zo women were adorned with them. In early times, only one bead counted much. U Sein Maung U says that in 1926 the cemetery at Tawdwin was dug out by the villagers who found in the inside burial urns etched onyx beads. These were highly prized by the Zos that they sold the goods to the Zos at good profit. He supposes that the goods may have found their way into South-East Asia by sea from South-East of India. The finds at Taungthaman and Ban Chiang indicate that the goods could have also come from South China with the Tibeto-Burman migration movements. Taungthaman, the site of the discovered goods, lies within the general area of Amarapura with which the Tedim Suante clan connects their trace and where the Pu Chin settlement is reported to have existed. The discovery of the same goods at Ban Chiang brings to one's mind K. Zawla's story of the Mizo (Lushai) migration route via Thailand. K. Zawla quotes Thangvunga as telling him that a Buddhist monk once related to Thangvunga that the Lushais came from China via Thailand.⁵⁶ This seems to be in parallel with Luce's remark stating, "But Chin movement during the historical period seems to have been more from east to west, than from west to east".⁵⁷

The Mgan tribes who belong to Cho (Kanpetlets) are more definite in linking their trace to Pagan.⁵⁸ The legendary name *Pu-ba-kho* refers to Pagan, 'the native land of the Mgan'. Luce finds out that of the Eleven districts (*kharuin*) in Kyaukse only two have

53. H. Ngul Khaw Pau, *The Chronicle of Hatzaw Clan* (Tedim : 1970).

54. Luce, "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans," JBRs, June, 1959, 80-81.

55. U Sein Maung U, "A Forgotten City", *The Working People's Daily*, Jan. 21-23, 1981.

56. Zawla, *Mizo Pi Pute*, 6-7.

57. Luce, "Chin-Hills Linguistic Tour (Dec. 1955) - University Project" JBRs, June 1959, 84.

58. B.S.P.P., *The cultures and Customs of the Indigenous Races (Chin)*, 67-69. The Mgan represents a major dialect of the Cho in Southern Chin State. Their migration myth says thus : Their progenitor was Pho Htu who was sent from heaven to lead the five couples of man and women to people the earth. Pho Htu had a son named Man Thang (Min Htin) who reached the country of Pagan called *Pu-ba-kho* in Chin. While living in the land of Pagan, Pho Htu wandered in the wilderness of Yaw where he had a dream. In his dream he saw the waters flowing from the land of Pagan towards the up-hill side instead of flowing down hill to the land of Pagan. His dream symbols he interpreted as the omen foretelling his future prosperity if he lived in Chin Hills. Thus he led his kinsmen from the country of Pagan and made a settlement of his own at the place called Man-en, the capital of Yaw.

the Burmese names. The non-Burmese name that Luce transliterated as *Mun* or *Muin* seems to recall the Southern tribal name which Bennison spells as *Mgan*.

According to what has been mentioned in regard with Chin migration myths, it looks really as if the Tedim ancestors came from Pagan bringing with them some gory tales. These are the story of *Hnget-kyi*⁵⁹ (Great Bird) and that of about the forced labour.⁶⁰ According to the Pagan literary account, it looks as if also the Tedims adopted the term *Kumpi* for king in Pagan influenced place. Luce notes that the Great Bird legend was adopted by the Burmans from the Nanchao. This common tradition suggests that the Northern Zo, particularly the Tedim speakers and the Pagan Burmans parted not in a distant time.

Based on all that has been mentioned in respect of traditions and literary contexts, one is impressed to conclude that the Northern Zo came to the New-Chindwin via the Yaw area from that Burma proper, bringing with them the 'more ramifying political system'. They may have come there either as an invader or fleeing band in association with the political activities of Pagan. This reminds one of the Kale legend that tells Chin invasion of Rajagyo. If the legendary invasion was not from the hills, they would have been those who introduced the name *Khyan* to the Valley. The Tedim chronicle says that they (Tedims) preceded the Lushais and lived there side by side with the Shans. It is not certainly known whether the Nanchao (Shans) just interrupted the Valley or had been there since their invasion of the Mi-no capital. It is not also clear whether their raid of the Mi-no capital marked the change of rule. History is likely that the Shans were predominant in the whole Chindwin until the times of Bayinnaung (AD 1551- 1581) who reunited the disintegrated Burmese Empire.

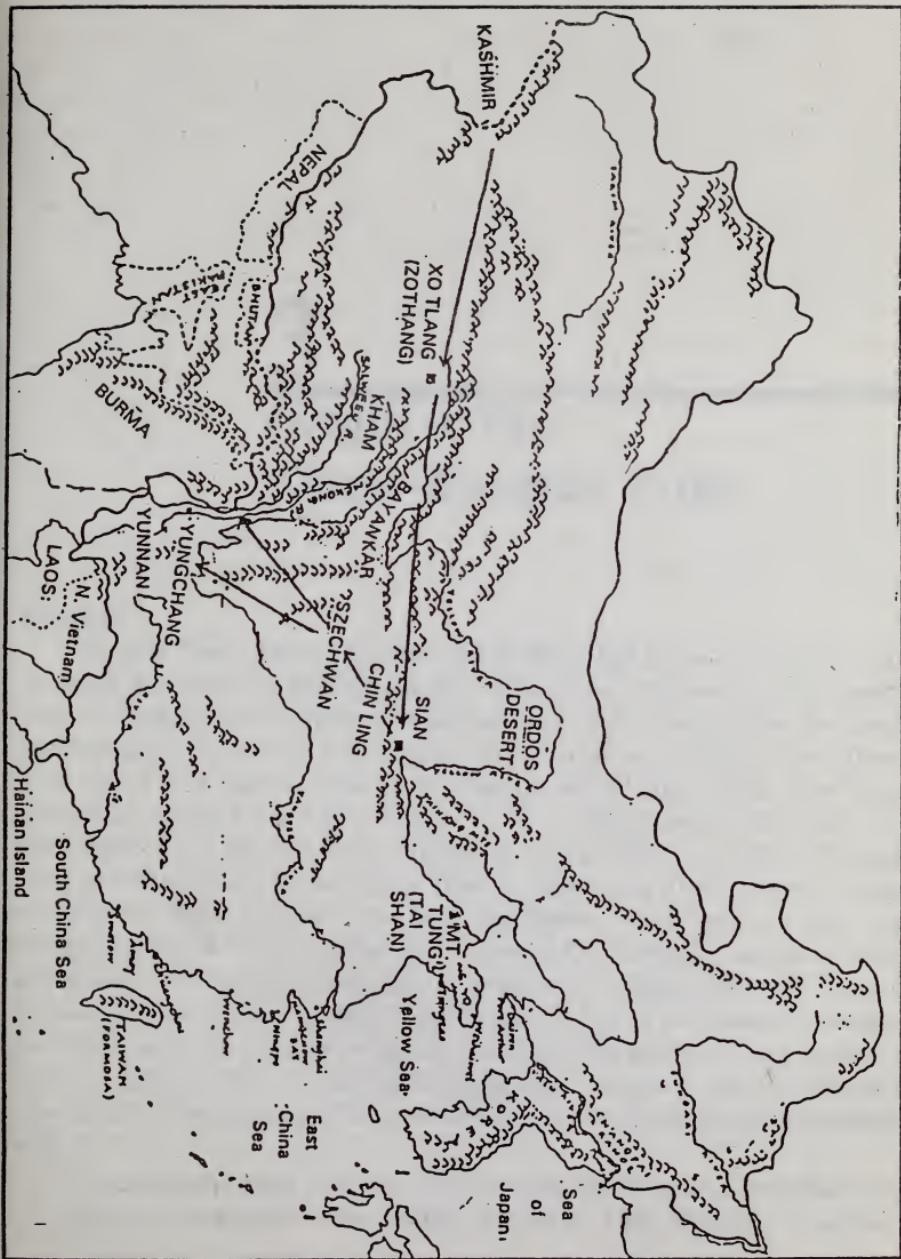
59. Luce, "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans", JBRS, June 1959, 90. "An old legend which the proto-Burmans brought with them from Nanchao, was that of Pyusawhti (*Chinese P'iao-chu-ti*) and his son Hti-min-yan (*Chinese Ti-meng-chu*). It was a Buddhist legend in Nanchao, for P'iao-chu-ti was a son of A-yu-wang, i.e. the Buddhist emperor Asoka and from *Ti-meng-chu*, his grandson, all the known races of the world were derived. The proto-Burmans, who were not Buddhist, ignored this part of the myth, while Pyusawhti's exploit in shooting the great Bird was remembered, and the site soon transferred to Hnak-pacton, 'Hill of the Shooting of the Bird', above Nyaung-U".

In the Tedim myth, this Bird is called *Mubung* which was feared very much because it usually caught children in their cradles. The bird, the myth says was killed by a hero named Palo.

60. Luce, "Geography of Burma under Pagan Dynasty", JBRS, June 1959, 43. "The chronicles hand down a gory tale of how it was dug in a single night by the Mongol army, after raising the siege of Minzaing, i.e. in 1301 A.D. 'and the tips of hands and feet which were chopped and cut by the spade-blade were gathered and kept in heap, and they filled a creel, it is said, holding 10 baskets.'

The Tedim source relates as thus : While they (Tedims) lived in Kale valley, a prince came up from 'below' and governed the city (Kalemyo). Under his rule people were forced to work in the construction of the wall. The hardship of the forced labour was so great that the fingers of the workers, which were cut off, filled a *ciangpui* (big cane-plate)". {Taken from *A Practical handbook of the Chin language* (Siyin).

A SKETCH MAP INDICATING ZO TRACE IN ANCIENT CHINA



3

Origin of the Tibeto-Burman Tribe

Tibetans

The term *Tibeto-Burman* is coined and employed by Linguists to represent a group of central Asian tribes in their classification of mankind, who were closely related by a family of languages and a system of tradition. As a Tibeto-Burman tribe, the history of the Burmans in general and that of the Zos in particular was related to Tibet. Though a good deal of work has been done on the Tibetans, the real origin of the name Tibet still remains unexplained. Since ancient times in Tibet, different peoples lived side by side and coalesced and scholars find it difficult to distinguish the true ethnic Tibetans. In many poetical writings, the country of Tibet is referred to as *Khaw a chen* or *Gangjong* meaning 'the abode of snow'.¹ The name the Tibetans themselves gave their country was *Bod-yul* and 'A Tibetan' is *Bod-pa*.² This name, Dr. Stein says, was closely rendered and preserved by their Indian neighbours to the south of Bhota, Bhautias, Bauta, etc.³ The word is now applied by them to the Tibetans living on the borders between India and Tibet, while the Tibetans proper are called *Huniyas* and the country *Hundes*. The reference to Bhota, Bhautias, and the like, generally corresponds to modern Bhutan. The word Bod for Tibet is supposed to have referred to *Bud* or *Buddha* in pious identification with it.

Concerning the name Tibet, Dr. Stein mentions the Chinese source which records the Chinese to have started using the form *Tu-fan* for Tibet. He seems to believe this

1. Shakapa, *Tibet : A political history*, 1.
2. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Tibeto-Burman Family".
3. R.A. Stein, *Tibetan Civilisation*, (London : Faber and Feker Ltd. 1972), 30.

word to have been after the original form *Tuppat* of a Turco-Mongol race.⁴ He refers to the Turkish and Sogdian texts, on the one hand, as mentioning a people called *Tuppat*, situated roughly in the south-east of modern Tibet. He further mentions another clan name, *T'opa* which he identifies with *Tuppat* in origin.⁵ Such was the form of *Tibbit*, *Tubbat*, etc., he says, the Muslim writers had used since the ninth century A.D. and through them the name reached medieval European explorers such as *Johan de Plano*, *Carpini*, *Wilhelmus de Rubrak*, *Marco Polo*, and so on. G.A. Grierson thus states as follows:

The name of Tibet has come to us through the Mohammedans. In the form of *Tobbat* it is used by *Istakhri* towards the end of the 6th century A.D. The usual form with Mohammedans is *Tibbit*.⁶

And, again, the name *Tuppat* 'in the north-east of Tibet' reminds one of the historical movements made by a people known to Chinese history as *Topa*. The fall of Han dynasty was followed by the division of the first Chinese Empire (founded by Ch'in in 221 B.C.) into North and South. In 386 A.D. the tribes designated as *T'upa* or *Toba* conquered the whole North and established a kingdom which endured till 557 A.D. This dynasty in J.Dun Li's account of Chinese history is written *Topa*.⁷ Now it looks as if what the Turksh and Sogdian texts describe as *Tuppat* in the 'north-east of modern Tibet' were one and the same people with what J.Dun Li spells as *Topa*. So it is not certain whether the ethnology of the Tibetans proper has something to do with this dynastic title *Topa*, even if the name Tibet was not derived from it. This is mentioned in the migration myth of the Khami-Chin of the place from which they came. The place is still memorized as somewhat like *Tuibem*.⁸ The first syllable *tui* in this place name is the variant of *ti* meaning water, and the last syllable has the meaning something like 'round' or 'circular'. So *Tuibem* would have the meaning 'round or circular water' which suggests the sense of reservoir. This legend seems to recall the lake named in Indian or Aryan *Manasarovara*, 'the highest in the world which, according to the Indian tradition, forms the centre of whole river system of northern India and thus worshipped as the mystic reservoir of the Lord of Life'.⁹ Therefore, had the name Tibet been derived from *Tibem* or *Tuibem*, the word might have referred to the great lake in the Himalayan mountains. Whether the name Tibet was derived from *Tuppat* or *Topa* or *Tuibem*, what is almost certain is that the people who address their king as *Topa* did appear in North China since the fourth century A.D. and who had historical relationship with the Tibetans proper.

It is found on the other hand that FitzGerald identifies the *Topa* tribes as *Wei*, probably those who lived in the valley of the river *Wei* in North China. He states, "The *Wei* were of Tunguistic stock,..."¹⁰ It is now more interesting to investigate who were *Tungust* or *Tunguistic* people. A river named *Wei* flows parallel with Ch'inling

4. Ibid, 31.

5. Ibid.

6. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Tibeto-Burman Family"

7. J. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese A History*, (New York : Charles Scribner's sons, 1965-71), 139.

8. B.S.P.P., *The Cultures and Customs of the Indigenous Races* (Chin), 64.

9. Havell, *A History of India*, 15.

10. C.P. FitzGerald, *CHINA : A Short Cultural History*, (New York : Frederick A. Fraeger Inc., 1961), 261.

mountains from west to east to enter into the Yellow river at the angle of its lowerband. Just south of Ordos Desert to the north of the Wei river valley, Luce writes, the Tangut branch of the Tibetan people in 990 A.D. founded a kingdom known to the Chinese as Hsi Hsia (Si-hia), ' Western Hsia'. ¹¹ This Hsi Hsia or Tangut language is found belonging to the Tibeto-Burman sub- family. Prof. Luce thus states, "It must be therefore conceded that we are entitled to the uniting of Si-Hsia with Lolo and Mo-so into a well defined group of language". ¹² All these evidences point to the fact that what FitzGerald spells as *Tanguistic* and what Luce speaks of as *Tangut* were very likely one and the same people who belonged to the Tibetan stock.

It is not unusual to find Zo languages containing tribal names similar to those of Tibet. For instance, the Tedims call a tribe, their not-distant relatives, *Tangun* or *Tangkun*. The main body of the tribe still lives in the Naga Hills, and they have recently formed local Baptist Churches numbering fifteen embracing 2008 baptized members. ¹³ The most striking element is the name given by an author to the Tibetans. The author writes, "The Xizangzu (Tibetans)... and other groups have their own languages". ¹⁴ This style of description is suggestive of the sense of whether some groups of modern Tibetans still bear the name which is nearly identical with the name *Sih-zang* (Siyin in Burmese), and dialectical group of Tedim speakers who use the word of address *Topa* to their feudal chief. This point tends to cast doubt into the authenticity of the Tedim chronicle which says that the name *Sih-zang* (*Si-zang* in their own speech) was applied to the people who once settled by the side of an alkali spring called *sih* in Northern Zo. The legend refers to the place of the alkali spring as the one near the present Saizang village about six miles to the south of Tedim town. It is quite possible that the founders of Ciimnuai settlement, the cradle of the Tedim speakers, brought down the names of their former settlements outside of the present hills. The same legend may apply to the clan chronicle of the Guite, according to which Ciimnuai was situated at the north of the country of Gurkhas. In fact, legends and myths are not the creation of memories, but are the reminiscence of the past experiences. Like Zo languages, the Tibetans, too, seem to be represented by numerous languages. This point is made clear by G.A. Grierson in his statement as reproduced below:

Several names have been proposed for the language. The one which has been universally recognized is Tibetan. In the oldest publications about the language, it interchanges with Tangutan, a name which has not been adopted by scholars in that sense. ¹⁵

Now from these premises a reasonable conclusion can be drawn. The Wei valley was probably the home of a people who called their chief or king *Topa*. They might have arrived there not later than the fourth century A.D. and founded their own kingdom there designated *Topa*. It seems that after an intervening period of four centuries, they were able to emerge as a powerful people known to the Chinese as Hsi Hsia. From literary

11. Luce, *Phases of Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:98-99

12. *Ibid.*

13. Burma Baptist Convention, *Judson Day*, (Yangon : Baptist Press, April, 1993),

14. Europa Year Book, 1985, s.v. "The People's Republic of China".

15. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Tibeto-Burman Family."

point of view, one may wonder if the Tangutans of Tibet were the same people as those Tibeto-Burman speakers to whom the Tedims apply the name *Tangkun* (or *Tangun*). Now one is obliged to continue the study of the Tibetans as to how the word *Topa* came to be used by the Tedims.

To Tribes

This study has found that the word Zo at one time might have represented the Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman speakers to which the Northern Chin belonged. While the Tedims persistently claim Zo to have been the only word by which the ancestors of Zo languages were designated, they alone use the term *Topa* for Lord or Master, and this signifies the 'peculiarity' of the Tedim terminology. So one is required to extend the field of study as to how and when the word was adopted. The term as is romanized even suggests to one whether it was brought down from ancient China. Relating to this word, Col. Henry Yule has been quoted as stating that the Musalmans inspite of their true name adopted the name *Toby*, the same word as *Topi* or *Topa* in Tedim. The name *Kato*, the Kadu word for Burmans, is suggestive of its ethnology.

To begin with, the Burmese word for the Chinese is *Taruk* (*Tayuk*). If the ethnology of this term can be identified, then the origin of the Topa tribes can be suggested. The Burmese chronicle has been mentioned as that while Beinnaka, the last king of Tagaung dynasty, was reigning the tribe coming from the country to the east called Gandalarit in the land of Sin (*Tsin*) invaded and overthrew Tagaung. These invaders were described as *Tayuk Tayiat* in Burmese, which Sir Arthur Phayre transliterated as *Taruk Tarek*. Regarding this Burmese appellation, Phayre gives the remark that Gandalarit corresponded generally with Yunnan and that *Taruk Tarek* were the names given later to the Chinese and Manchu, and might be considered as a designation incorrectly applied by the later copy-ists of the chronicle to their earlier conquerors.¹⁶ Pagan king Narathihapati is nick-named *Taruk-pye-min*, the king who fled Taruk invasion. History verifies that the Taruk that Narathihapati fled were the Mongols who invaded and overthrew Taguang capital in 1284 A.D. Luce supposes that the Turkish tribes must have formed a large element in the invading Mongol forces, perhaps, outnumbering the Mongols proper.¹⁷ Regarding this, Dr. Stein makes it clear that the word Taruk was a Tibetan term for the Turks.¹⁸

All this evidence has shown that the word Taruk was brought down by the Burmese from Tibet. Were the Lai-Zos use Taruk for the Chinese, the Tedim-Zos use Sen or Tsen for the same people, similar to the Burmese word Sin or *Tsin* as 'in the land of Sin'. It has been now obvious that the word Taruk in its original form referred to the Turks. It seems certain that the word was brought down from Tibet or adopted later by the Pagan people to describe the Mongols, their conquerors, coming from Yunnan, the land of Sin.

16. Sir Arthur Phayre, *History of Burma*, (London : Santiago de compostela, Spain, Second edition, 1967)
17. Luce, "Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th-13th century A.D.", JBRS, june 1959, 70.
18. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, p. 57; "But further north, east and west were mighty warriors who made themselves felt in China : the eastern Turks (by the Orkhon river, in Mongolia), and the western Turks (around the Ili, in southern Sinkiang). Later came the Uighurs, another branch of the Turks, who settled in the Oases north of Tarim (Tufan, etc.) and then around 872, in the Kanchow region. In Tibet their names were associated with the idea of armies and horses, barbarity and violence, somewhat like the medieval Gog and Magog. The name of the Turks, Tu chueh (ancient Turkut) in Chinese, became Trugu or Taruk (spelt Drugu, Drug) in Tibet, while that of the Uighurs became Hor (short for Ho-yo-hor)"

Relating to the name China, Kenneth Scott Latouratte states that the name was foreign appellation probably derived from the dynasty that reigned over the Chinese empire in the third century B.C.¹⁹ He goes on to state that the most frequent name used by the Chinese themselves was *Chungkua* meaning the 'Middle Kingdom' and that the Chinese themselves denominated into 'Han Jen' and 'Tang' in the south. This statement gives the impression that the name China was derived from Ch'in, the dynasty that founded the first Chinese Empire in the third century B.C. But a close study shows the case to be hardly so. The Chinese history itself records that in ancient China different tribes lived hand in hand struggling against one another for supremacy. Eventually there arose four contending families known in history as Ch'i, Chu, Ch'in, and Chin of which Chin is spelt also as Tsin by some authors. C.P. Fitzgerald describes Chin as follows:

In 453 B.C. Tsin the only state which could have prevented the progress of Ch'in was partitioned between three of its great family. Their states took the names of the families themselves and were known as Han, Wei, and Chao, collectively called the 'Three Tsins'.²⁰

This record makes it clear that Ch'in and Chin (Tsin) are different names representing different tribes at the same time, and that the ethnic Chinese or the Chinese proper were being represented by the name *Chin* or *Tsin*. Marco Polo was the first person to have reported about the central Asian stories to the western world, and he referred to what is now China as *Chin*. The account of its etymology shows that this name was later written *China*.²¹ All this points to the fact that the Burmese reference to Yunnan as 'the land of Sin' and the Tedim word Sen or Tsen for the Chinese are one and the same name as what Marco Polo described as *Chin*. So it is most likely that the name China in western literary was derived from its original form *Chin*. One has, therefore, to concede that the name Taruk was of Tibeto- Burman language originally referring to the Turks. It is not, however, certain whether the name was brought down or adopted later in Burma.

As a distinct people, the historical movement of the Topa tribes was felt beginning from the fourth century A.D. in North China. Relating to their cultural affinity, Dun Li mentions that in 471 A.D. in North China, a non-Chinese ruler named Hsiao-wen-ki ascended the throne and launched a programme of Sinicization of Chinese culture in which by royal decrees not only was nomadic custom to be discarded and replaced by the Chinese dress, but even the royal family name *Topa* was replaced by the title *Yuan*.²² What this Chinese chronicle makes certain is that the royal family name *Topa* was of non-Chinese origin. This raises the question of whether the Tedim word *Topa* had some historical relation to that royal family name.

19. Fitzgerald, *China*, 27.

20. *Ibid.* 67

21. Vivian Rioler, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, (London : Oxford University Press, 1933-1961) 'CHINA'. *Chin* in Marco Polo, *China* in Barbosa (1516) and Garcia de Corta (1563).

22. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese*, 139, "By royal decrees, not only was nomadic custom to be discarded and replaced by Chinese dress, but the Chinese language was proclaimed as the official language and had to be learned by all persons under the age of thirty. All family names were to be sinicized including the name of the royal family which from then on was to be known as *Yuan* instead of the original form *Topa*".

It has been previously mentioned that the Chinese word for Turk was *Tu chueh* which Luce spells *T'u chueh* as in *T'upa*, the same pronunciation with what Kenneth Scott Latouratte spells *T'u Pa* or *Toba*.²³ So what is evident is that *To* or *T'u* or *Tu* had represented a sense of royalty to which the Tedim word *Topa* for Lord, too, may have belonged. So it becomes more imperative to make further investigation as to whether the Tedims adopted the royal term from the Turks or whether the Turks copied it from them or even whether the ethnology of the Tedims had belonged to the Turks. To give an adequate answer to all these questions may need more research work and more detailed study into the field. Nevertheless, this study has obtained some literary materials to work with.

According to what has been mentioned in connection with the *Topa* tribes, the culture term *To* appears to have been associated with the Turks. Relating to this point, Latouratte argues that some authors wrongly supposed the *Toba* tribes to have been either 'proto-Mongol' or 'Turk'.²⁴ Yet he suspects that their language had probably been of Turkish origin. According to the Chinese history given by Latouratte, the Northern Wei strove to defend their realm against a people with Mongols and Turkish elements. These people gave trouble to the northern marches. About the middle of the sixth century, these people were in turn defeated by some of their vassals called *T'u chueh*.²⁵ Latourette identifies these *T'u chueh* as of a Turkish stock. In the second half of the sixth century, he states, these people proceeded to build in Mongolia and central Asia as empire of vast dimensions. In regard to this, he describes their movements as mentioned below:

In the middle of the fifth century, the *Hehptalites* had become a great power centering in the valley of Oxus and had been successful invaders of India. The *T'u chueh* were not very highly civilized and had derived such culture as they possessed probably not from the Chinese, but from Iranian and Aramaean sources. They formed a temporary alliance with the *Sassanian* monarchs of Persia and obtained the territory in which are now Bokhara and Samarkand, thus controlling in part the caravan routes by which silk was carried from China to Byzantine Empire.²⁶

The materials collected and given so far suggest that the *T'u chueh* people adopted the *To* culture from the Iranian and Aramaean sources. This point at once provokes one's thought and raises the question, could the culture come in with human waves? Today the region to the south of Sinkiang and to the north of Baltistan and Ladakhi is called Turkestan. This region probably got its name after what Dr. Stein describes as western Turks. To the south of these western Turks are still living on the Himalayan mountains a people identified as Tibeto-Burman tribes. What signifies Ladakh is that it is on the international route by which silk was carried from east to west. So the place of Ladakh represents the link between the east and west. And, again, on the other hand, some sources of Zo migration myths relate that Zo came from a place memorized as somewhat like Oksa tlang.²⁷ So this point needs to be compared with the Chin context of tradition.

23. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Chinese Their History and Culture*, (New York : The Macmillan Company, 1934, 1946, 1964,) pp. 117-118, 'The longest lived and most powerful of the states of the North was founded by the *T'u Pa* (or *Toba*)'.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid

26. Ibid.

27. "Lailun San Thuanthu," 20, Map (A)

According to the Thantlang source of migration myths, the Zos living in the present area of Thantlang, twenty miles to the west of Hakha town, came from Simpi via the Lailun-Zotlang route. The myth relates that the Thantlangs came to Simpi following the route leading from Leksava to Zazo through *Oksa tlang*. The teller of the story identifies Zazo as a village in Kale valley and Leksava as the Myittha river flowing through the Yawdwin valley. The place of Oksa tlang is identified as the hill bordering Gangaw in the Yawdwin with Hakha in Chin Hills.²⁸ It is of interest to search for the place memorized as Oksa. Was the word Oksa really of Zo origin? What is called today Amu Darya, a river from the east entering into Aral sea was in Old Testament time called Oxus.²⁹ The river Oxus takes its sources from the mountains called Hindu Kush adjoining the region where the Tibeto-Burman speakers are still living. Captain William Gill describes the place of Hindu Kush as 'the country about Oxus'.³⁰ It is not certain whether the river Oxus got its name after the name of the mountains from which it takes its sources. Based on this assumption one is led to ask whether the Zo legendary place name Oksa was one and the same place with the 'country of Oxus', Hindu Kush. After all, whatever the history might have been, one is liable to assume that the country of Oxus represented the centre through which the Tibeto-Burman culture came into eastern world.

To sum up, whether the name Tibet was derived from *Topa* or from *Tuibem*, the people who called their king Topa had existed as a distinct people in North China since the fourth century A.D. They are mentioned as coming from the river Wei. Historical materials connect them with the T'ao valley, the regional name probably given after the people who took the name Topa and who belonged to the Zo stock. What ever the ethnic affinity of the Topa tribes might have been, what seems certain is that the culture term To was associated with the Turks. What is more peculiar is the self-assertion by the Tedims as *Tak*. A Tedim uses to acclaim, "Tak, pasal hi-ing", meaning "Tak, I am a male person". He means to say that he is not a woman who is weak, but a man who is strong and mighty. The word is acclaimed in deriving strength from it. e.g. Tak-heh or Takheh. Tak-heh means "I am Tak". Does this word refer to Turk in origination? Did this refer to one's descent, Turkish blood?

Ch'iang Race

According to Chinese records, the Chinese proper were a branch of Chiang,³¹ and are mentioned in old Chinese writings under the name of Kiang.³² It is, therefore of interest to identify who were Chiang or Kiang. The Tibetans proper have been identified as belonging to the Topa tribes who were from the Wei river valley in the north-west of China. And also the region south of Ordos Desert to the north of the Wei valley has been mentioned as the place where the kingdom of Hsi Hsia the Lolo-Burman speaking people, was established. Relating to this, Luce writes as follows:

28. Ibid. 20

29. Hammond, Medallion WORLD-ATLAST, s.v. "Medo-Babylonian Realm".

30. Capt. William Gill, *The River of Golden Sand*, 2 Vols. with an introductory essay by Col. Yule, (London : John Murry, 1880).

31. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 29.

32. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Tibeto-Burman Family".

From the north-west of China right down to the west, Burma-Lolo speaking peoples have been, for more than millennium, on the western flank of the Chinese. The Hsi Hsia linguistic evidence proves this.³³

This point is taken up by some Burmese scholars to connect it with the Kyaukse plain as the cradle of the ethnic Burmese or the Myanmar proper. According to them, the Tibeto-Burman tribes once lived in the valley of T'ao, fifty miles south of Lanchow in the Kansu area, north-west of China and north-east of Tibet.³⁴ The valley of T'ao lies within the general region of the Wei valley- the home of the Topa tribes. The regional name T'ao itself suggests its affinity with *To* the royal family name. Luce notes that the people of the T'ao valley were those who belonged to the celebrated 'Yang Chao culture' in which they buried their dead on the tops of hills surrounding their habitation, 'much as the Burmans built and build their pagodas'.³⁵ The sites of the 'Yang Chao culture' discovered are found mostly confined to the country plateau north and west of the great eastern plain of China. Regarding the ethnology of Yang Chao culture, Luce gives a remark as mentioned in the following:

Who were the Ch'iang (K'iang) of the oracle-bones, the pastoral people who kept their goats or sheep in Shansi and on the Shansi hills above Anyang and were hunted for human sacrifice by the agricultural Chinese of the late Shang Yin dynasty? Are they the same as the Ch'iang barbarians of late dynasties, whose southward movements from Koko Nor and sources of the Wei and Min rivers down into SuCh'uan are told in the Han dynastic histories?³⁶

Prof. Luce further observes that the tail-end of their movements still survives in the mountains, north and north-west of Ch'eng-tu. He notes that a short poem is contained in the local language of Tsa-tu, one of the 'Southwest Barbarian' Kingdoms described in the *Hou-han-shu*, and the poem appears to be Lolo. Regarding the ethnic affinity of what Fan Ch'o takes as Nanchao words, the statement of Luce as follows is worthwhile to note:

Then take the titles of Nan-chao officials listed in the Hsin-tang-shu ... the order of the words is not Shan, but Lolo. In chapter VIII of Man-shu Fan Ch'o gives a meagre vocabulary of Nan-chao words: 16 in the language of the Pai Man, the 'White Barbarians' of 'Western Ts'uan', ... The former (Pai Man) appears to be Lolo.³⁷

Luce refers to the Chinese historian Su-ma Ts'ien as calling the Lolo-Burma speaking tribes *Hsi-nan-i*, 'South-western Barbarians', quite distinct from the *Man*, 'South Barbarians'; the people included *Yeh-lang* in Kueichow to the east; *Tien* in eastern Yunnan; and *Chiung-tu* in South-western Ssu-ch'uan. Luce points out that the people of Western Yunnan were dominantly Ts'uan which is Lolo.³⁸ They were distinguished by the style of their manfold noted in a chignon.³⁹ The manner of their hair-dressing

33. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:99.

34. G.S. R.U.B., *Burmese Political History*, I:205

35. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:100.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:101.

39. Ibid., I:12. "The Chingnon wearing Chins wrap a rag round their hair or wear an ample cloth coil round the temples which neither covers the ear nor the tip of the head" (*The Chin Hills*, I:169).

closely resembles that of the Tedim speakers of the former Northern Zos (Ralte, Gangte, Vaiphei, Thado, Zo, Lushai, Hualngo, Sukté, Simte, Kamhau, and Sihzang). This single evidence apart from other facts may lead one to derive that what Luce calls 'Burma-Lolo Speaking' belonged to the Topa tribes. Though no strong evidence can be given, the Old Burmans who were called Kato by the Kadu may have used *Topa* in addressing their Lord. According to all this, it looks as if the Ch'iang race was ethnically represented by the 'Burma-Lolo Speakers'. They seem to have been the carrier of Zo culture from west to east. The Lolo tribe is unique in this sense.

In fact the sites discovered of 'Yang-chao' culture cover most of the areas where the Ch'iang lived. Such ancient capitals as Yung, Sian, An-yang, Loyang, etc. are located within the sphere of the Yang-chao cultural influence.⁴⁰ These people, perhaps, later became to be described as Wei around which Ch'iang descendants were dwelling. All these historical and cultural elements bring to light that the Yang-chao culture was of Ch'iang or K'iang in ethnic affinity. It was probably the Yang-chao culture that Chou monarch was accused of adopting 'barbarian culture' and was forced to renounce it later.⁴¹ These were probably the facts which lead Owen Lattimore to state, "To this group (Tibeto- Burman) the Chiang or Ch'iang tribes probably belonged".⁴²

According to the Chinese chronicle, there arose a ruling house with the title Ch'in with its capital at Yung in the valley of the river Wei.⁴³ Ch'in rose up among the nomadic tribes that surrounded it. It possessed the primitive vitality not shared by the more advanced states in the east of China. During the reign of Mukung (659-621 BC) it became the main power in the western part of China. But it was regarded as a 'barbarian state' by the eastern powers because of the non-Chinese elements it contained.⁴⁴ Ch'in is recorded to have united ancient China into the first empire in 221 B.C. It was replaced by Han ruling house in 206 B.C., the succession of which was maintained until 221 A.D. The fall of Han was followed by the division of the empire, and numerous states of different peoples of non-Chinese appeared in North China. There is mention in the Chinese chronicle of a state established in the north-west by the Tibetan people from 256 to 420 A.D. They gave the dynasty thus founded the same name of the state that had united China into the first empire. That name is significantly spelt Ch'in.⁴⁵ All this definitely leads one to conclude that the ruling house that arose from the valley of the river Wei and had united ancient China as the first empire was not-Chinese. It apparently bears Tibetan characteristic features. So, Ch'in appears like the one who handed down the people linguistically termed 'Tibeto-Burman tribes'.

According to what has been mentioned so far, the Tibeto-Burman tribes did belong to Ch'iang or K'iang in terms of whose tradition and culture the Tibeto-Burman affinity can be best identified. Different authors on the Chinese history variously spell the racial

40. FitzGerald, *China*, 20. "Map 1, Pre-historic sites and Shang and Chou Centres."

41. *Ibid.*, 28.

42. Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*, (Boston : Beacon Press, 2nd printing, 1967), 456. "To this group (Tibeto-Burman) the Chiang or Ch'iang tribes probably belonged, either from the most ancient times or atleast from the second century BC, when they were distributed along the Kansu-Tibetan border. Bishop believes that the Chou Chinese may also belong to this linguistic group."

43. Encyclopaedia Britannica (Macropaedia), s.v. "China".

44. *Ibid.*

45. FitzGerald, "Periods of Chinese History", *China A Short Cultural History*.

name Ch'iang such as Chiang, Ch'ang, K'iang, Kiang and the like. Relating to Ch'iang, Rev. Marshal explains that the racial names prefixed with *ka* as in Kachin, Kayin, Kaya, Kathe, or Karek (as used by the Chinese Mon), etc., were related to and derived from the name of one of the four ancient tribes of China; that is Ch'iang which is Giang or Gyang or Gyang in its ancient pronunciation.⁴⁶ He gives for instance that *Ka-Ya* (Red-Karen) was derived from *Ka-Yang* where *Ka* or *K* being equivalent to *Ch* meaning man or people, and the later part *Yang* is the distinctive tribal name. This interpretation is found in agreement with the Cho (the present Mindats and Kanpetlets) interpretation of the same word Chiang as having the same meaning of man or people. By applying this principle of nomenclature, it can be said that the self-designation *Jingphaw* by the Kachins, which Marco Polo spelt *Ching Phaw*, would have been related to or derived from Giang or Gyang in origin. In that event, the Karen and Kaya, too, would have been of Ch'iang. To judge by tradition and culture, the Karen may be considered representing the 'Yang chao' culture.⁴⁷ Though Luce, relating to the ethnic affinity of Karen, changes his view, his former view seems to be still holding true to history. The similarities between Chin and Karen in respect of tradition strongly support that view.

According to Owen Lattimore, the term Chiang or Ch'iang was an old generic name for non-Chinese tribes of the Kansu-Tibetan border, and it indicates a shepherd people; *Ching* a jungle people.⁴⁸ The word *Ching* is still used by the Northern Zo to denote tree; and its Tedim form *shing* or *sing* similar to the Tibetan form *shing* denotes the same object. And, again, according to the Chinese terminology, there are two words: Chiang and Ch'ang in which Ch'ang (象) is pronounced somewhat like Khyang which is associated with the ethnic sense of shepherd or nomad whereas Chiang (江) denotes river.⁴⁹ The Chinese term Ch'ang (象) is the composite of two words (羊) meaning sheep and (人) meaning man. According to its etymological account, the racial name Ch'iang or Ch'ang seems to have been in use in reference to the nomadic form of historical existence in the same meaning as the name *Hebrew* was originated from the Egyptian word *Habiru* or *Apiru* meaning 'wanderers' or 'outsiders' like the modern Gipsy.

The tribes that the Tibetan history describes as Ch'iang and in old Chinese writings as K'iang is mentioned in the Chinese source to have existed at the 'extremity of north-west China' from about 1400 BC to modern times.⁵⁰ The record does not, however, specify what part of land the 'extremity of north-west' refers. On the other hand, there is also mention in world history of the same name spelt Chiang to have entered into ancient China from the west. History records that Chou invaded Shang and established its dynasty and that Chou's invading army was made up of Chiang and western allied tribes.⁵¹ However, no mention is made in the modern record of the Chinese history of the historical and cultural connection of Ch'iang or Chiang with those of the Chinese. One is not, therefore, sure whether the names Ch'iang and Ch'in were the variants of the same word or different words representing different peoples.

46. Rev. Marshal Harry Ignatius, *The Karen People of Burma*, (Columbus : Columbus University Press, 1922), 8.

47. Luce, "Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Languages", *JBRS*, June, 1959.

48. Lattimore, *Inner Asia Frontiers of China*, 215.

49. Personal Interview with Mr. Chen Yi-sein, Reader in Chinese at Rangoon University, at his residence on October 22, 1986.

50. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 29.

51. *Encyclopaedia Britannica (Macropaedia)*, s.v. 'China'

So far as evidences are concerned, Ch'iang were nomad tribes coming from the west probably through the highland of central Asia, infiltrating into the heart of ancient China since the eleventh century BC.⁵² Ch'iang and Ch'in commonly bear the same characteristic feature that appeared to the more advanced Chinese as 'barbarous'. Although the Chinese historians do not use the word Ch'iang or K'iang in describing any of the Chinese ancient tribes, it is most likely that Ch'iang and Ch'in were the same people spoken *Ch'iang* in Tibetan and *Ch'in* in Chinese. Today, Ch'iang are mentioned to be still living in the Tibetan Kham area. Relating to Ch'iang presence in Kham region, Owen Lattimore believes that after living in the central plains of China, they (Ch'iang) retreated into the mountains. He gives the possible historical context that affected their retreat as follows:

It is to be conjectured that the original society at the foot of the mountains became affected by marked changes which may have been the result of a local revolution or may have been caused by invasion. In either case resistance to the new order must have been strongest among those whose interests were identified with the old order in such a way that they stood to lose more than they might gain by going over to the new order. These were the individuals or classes who are more likely to have led the retreat into the mountains.⁵³

What Lattimore describes as 'marked changes' and 'local revolution' that led Ch'iang retreat into the Tibetan Kham recalls the political crisis that brought Han to rule Ch'iang Empire. The Ch'iang were probably a people who considered themselves as the only tribe who alone possessed the legitimate right to rule all that was on earth. So it is most probable that they would never yield to the rule of other people whom they regarded as inferior to them by descent and tradition. This Ch'iang mentality is seen vividly expressed in the way Lattimore describes the historical situation that affected Ch'iang 'retreat' into the mountain sanctuary. In regard to the political situation under the rule of Emperor Shih Huang-ti, the Chinese chronicle says, the Great Wall started by the kings of Chao and Yen was linked to a distance of 1400 miles. In the construction of this Wall, the chronicle relates, mannaul labour was conscripted and people were forced to work. The living memory of the terror of that forced labour is recorded and described as reproduced below:

If the scholars of succeeding century have cursed the name of the first Emperor for burning the books, popular tradition has held this memory in undying hatred for building the Wall. Even today, after more than 2000 years the people repeat that a million men perished at the task, and every stone cost a human life.⁵⁴

The memory of the terror of the event 'in undying hatred for the building of the Wall' seems to have been shared by the fleeing peoples into Southeast Asia. In Burma, the tale of that forced labour is still kept alive and retold as if it had happened locally. For instance, the Tedim Zos attribute the cause of their retreat into the present hills from Kale valley to a forced labour in the construction of the Kale walled-town, and the Pagan Burmans, too, attribute the two thousand years old story to the construction of irrigation

52. The date of Chou's reign is given as at 1122 BC in the Chinese tradition. But this date historians recognize as at 1050 BC.

53. Lattimore, *Inner Asia Frontiers of China*, 210.

54. Fitz Gerald, *China* 140

in Kyaukse plains in a single night under the Mongol rule. Besides these, Kachin tradition still memorizes the fight with Han.⁵⁵

To sum up, what has been said so far points out that the people who founded an empire in ancient China in the third century BC were Ch'iang and their related tribes. They lost to the Han people, the Chinese proper, the political power that they had been in control since the eleventh century BC.⁵⁶ This 'marked change' might have led them to retreat into the hills or to walk out of China to find new lands to reign. This is the historical context of the first few centuries of AD in which the influx of Sino-Tibetan speaking peoples, and in particular of Tibeto-Burman speakers into Southeast Asia had very likely taken place.

Today there are some sixty minority races in China, which contains racial names similar to those of Zo tribes in particular and to those of the Proto-Burmese in general. The most striking tribes are *Khalkha*, *Tu* and *Sala* in the north-west, *Miao*, *Lolo* (Yi) and *Moso* (Nakhi) in the south-west, and *Miao*, *Yao*, *Tung* or *Tung Yo*, and *Lai* in central and south of China.⁵⁷ FitzGerald's account includes such other tribes as *Pai*, *Haka*, *Chin*, *Wa*, *Lisu*, and so forth.⁵⁸ This study admits its inability to investigate what features characterize these tribes. In all probability, the Burmese Tibeto-Burmans had left behind their remnants in the Tibeto-Chinese border in their southward movement. A close study shows that no other author but FitzGerald uses the word *Chin* for any of the Chinese racial groups. Since other authorities do not use and FitzGerald alone uses it, the name *Chin* may have been considered non-Chinese. Perhaps, FitzGerald may have borrowed the Burmese word to describe a Chinese minority race which is identical with the *Chin* of Burma.

According to the tables of the Chinese minority races, it looks as if the Chinese *Hakka* and *Khalkha* belonged to the *Yao* who are characterized by the style of menfolk in coiling their hair on top of their head in the same manner as the *Hakha-Chins* are doing today. What is more striking is the 'Tablet System' of their local administration. Though it is not known what rules and regulations are engraved on it, the stone tablet purports a connection of their history with a remote past. Another interesting one is their possession of 'Script' used in ritual purpose by the Nakhi (Muhsu). Relating to this script, FitzGerald notes as follows:

The Nakhi, who live around the city of Li Chiang in North-west Yunnan, are a distinct people who still use for ritual purpose a script which is neither of Chinese nor Sanskrit origin.⁵⁹

The myth of script or writing on parchment is not uncommon in almost all sources of the Tibeto-Burman tradition. The story of Nakhi script reminds one of the kingdom of Hsi-Hsia to the north-west of China, on the great bend of the Yellow River just south

55. Personal Interview with U N.D. Zau Tawng, member of Central Committee, Burma Socialism Programme Party Head Quarters in 1980.

56. Latouratte, *The Chinese* 33, "Some western scholars, however, declare that the empire as such began with the Ch'in, the immediate successor of the Chou."

57. Wang-shu-tang, *China Land of Many Nationalities*, (Peking : Foreign Language Press, 1955), 5.

58. FitzGerald, *China*, 7.

59. *Ibid.*, 8.

of Ordos Desert. It is not known whether the Si-hia script belonged to the Nakhi script (Lolo-Moso).

Linguists classify the tribes of Moso(Muhso) and Lolo in the proto-Burman group. They were unique in respect of that ancient writing. It is learned from Luce's work that the word Lolo was their Chinese name and they called themselves *Neisu* or *Lei-su* or *Ngo-su*.⁶⁰ They had been a distinct tribe by the seventh century and settled in the Tali region while the proto-Burmans or the Mang were living in the south of Yung-Ch'ang. After the Mongol capture of Tali in 1253 AD, the 'Independent Lolo' found refuge in the Ta-liang mountains of Such'uan, east of the Chien-chang valley, west of the Yang-ts'u.⁶¹ Regarding Lolo tribe, what Luce quotes Major Davies in 1909 as follows is interesting to note:

The Lolo of Ssuc'uan are a very fine tall race, with comparatively fair complexions, and often with straight features, suggesting a mixture of Mongolian with some more straight-featured race. Their appearance marks them as closely connected by race with the eastern Tibetans.... Further south in Yunnan the pure Lo-lo type has perhaps somewhat deteriorated, but even here one often finds tall and fairly straight-featured people.⁶²

This purer Lolo physical type seems different from the Chinese; it is often tall, fair, and almost Causasian in feature. It was called 'Proto-morphus' by Haddon and the old school of anthropologists, 'more allied to the whiteskins than the yellow'.⁶³

According to the 1931 *Census of India*, the races of the Lolo-Muhso group are represented by such languages as Kaw, Lahu, Lisaw or Lisu, Nung, etc. Relating to Lolo, Bennison reports as thus:

The Lolo tribe is perhaps the most important in the group but its headquarters are in Yunnan and only a small number cross the frontier. In 1921 Lolo was returned by 769 persons (in the Northern Shan State) as their race and language; in 1931 it was not returned at all. It is possible that they were recorded as Lahu's⁶⁴

It has been said that the word *Pai*, *Paite*, and *Paihte* are the same word applied to the Tedim speakers by the Falams.⁶⁵ It appears to be interesting to make a brief study as to whether the word was brought down from Tibet. It has also been mentioned that Luce identifies the reference to *Pai Man* as Lolo. Fan Ch'o refers to these people as also 'White Barbarians' of 'Western Ts'uan'. Although it is not certainly known to what particular tribe FitzGerald applies the name Chin, the way he describes the people tends to indicate the existence of a close relationship between Chin and Lisu being a tribe belonging to Lolo. "Many smaller and more primitive," says he, "are found in this region, including Chin, Wa, and Lisu". There are some cultural elements which the Tedim speakers and the Lolo related tribes commonly share. For instance, the Lahu call their

60. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:103

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*, I:103-104.

63. *Ibid.*

64. Green, *6 Census of India*, Vol. XI, Part I. - Report, 182.

65. "Lailun San Thuanthu", 71, "A man named Mang Sawn from Sim-di-hai settlement founded the settlement Khawdar to defend from the raid by the Paihte-Mualbem". This record indicates that Mualbem village represented the centre power of Tedim in the supralocal organization.

Supreme Being *G'uisha*⁶⁶ which strikingly resembles what the Tedims call *Sha*, a holy Spirit-like force in religious conception. And, again, the Lolo proper was referred to as the 'Six *Chao* in the Ta-li region'.⁶⁷ According to Colonel Henry Yules, the term *chao* was a Shan word for 'prince'.⁶⁸ This royal title is found closely similar to what Fan Ch'o spells *shou*, the Chin word for prince. Fan Ch'o describes the Shou people in Chindwin valley as having 'long white face' which closely resembles the Lolo who had white-skin. Were the Mi-no people the related tribes of Lolo?

Gourds are grown and used by the Zos particularly the Tedims mainly as household utensils. Accordingly, myths and tales are handed down in association with the gourd. It is not an easy thing to research where and when the Chins got their gourd culture. It is not equally easy to say either whether the gourd growing culture was introduced with the Aryan movement. Yet one is certain of the fact that this culture had already been in practice in the region, south-west of China in the ninth century AD. Dr. Stein states that in the ninth century, Tibetans went regularly to the Sino-Burmese frontier to buy large gourds grown by the tribes there.⁶⁹ This record shows that the place where gourds were grown was in the north-west of Yung-ch'ang and which corresponds to the general region through which the Chien-tu are said to have entered Burma.

What has been said so far in connection with ancient Ch'iang inevitably leads one to infer that the noble terms *Chao* in Lolo-Muhso or Shan, *Caw*, *Saw*, *Yaw*, *Jaw*, in Old Burmese, *Sho* or *Sho* in Asho-Chin, *Sao* in modern Shan, *Cho* in Kanpetlet, and *Zo* or *Jo* in Northern Zo, were probably one and the same noble term variously spoken while commonly preserved.

Zo-tlang Capital

Zo tradition is coloured with myths and legends some of which are purportive of Zo trace. The Thantlang source has been mentioned as saying that Zo first lived in the place called Zo-tlang from which the Lai-Zos came to the present area.⁷⁰ Regarding Chin settlement at Zo-tlang, the Lailun tradition relates that Zo-tlang was founded from Lailun, the first settlement place of the Lai speakers, now called Shuntla, about six miles to the north of Falam town. Tradition places Zo-tlang on the border between the present townships of Thantlang and Falam in Chin State. Carey and Tuck write, "The tradition is that there was a village of huge size called Yoklang, which covered the hill upon which Kwarwa stands..."⁷¹ If the migration route from Zo-tlang to Minle tlang via Shwebo tlang and Yesagyo is of genuine tradition, it would be absurd to think that one has first to move down to Yesagyo from the Zo-tlang of Chin-Hills and to return back to found Chin-Hills. The existence of Zo-tlang as a place name is a fact. But if Zo migration route through Yesagyo and Minle tlang is authentic, the Zo-tlang in the myth must have been outside of Chin-Hills. Then the question is where was Zo-tlang?

According to Tibetan tradition, the first Tibetan ancestors were a forest monkey and a demoness of rock. The couple, monkey and she-demonic rock, the tradition says,

66. Green, *Census of India*, 1931, 215.

67. Luce, *Pre-Pagan Burma*, I:101

68. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand*, I:45

69. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 37.

70. Personal Interview with Pu-Ro Thang.

71. Carey & Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:152.

met at the place called *Zothang* (or *Shothang*).⁷² The exact place of *Zothang* is still obscure. The tradition from Amdo source claims that the place where the mythical monkey and rock met is Amdo itself.⁷³ Tibet has three major regions: Kham, Amdo, and Utsang. Amdo occupies the whole of north-eastern Tibet including the great lake Koko Nor and the entire upper course of the Yellow River and is enclosed to the south by the Bayan Kara mountains.⁷⁴ This region is called Manchu in Chinese, to which some Burmese scholars link the Myanma origin.⁷⁵

Another source of Tibetan tradition places the first settlement in the land of Kongpo in south-east of Tibet. "The first village they made is", says Dr. Stein, "commemorated in (the saying): *Trena* (monkey-beginning) in the land of Kongpo".⁷⁶ Their chronicle, on the other hand, identifies the place of Zothang with Yarlung district, the place where their legendary king Nyatri Tsenpo is said to have come down from heaven. Yarlung district, Stein says, was comparatively warm and suitable for cultivation. However, he argues that the identification of Zothang with Yarlung district was probably motivated by a wish to place their native origin in the district where the first king was believed to have come down. Thus he places Zothang at the north-east of Tibet in the general area of Amdo region, from where the rivers Mekhong and Salween take their sources.⁷⁷ This place is found corresponding to the general region from which the Myanmar people are said to have began.

The identification of the Yarlung district with Zothang does not seem to have been without reason. Lhasa is today the capital of Tibet, and is situated in the north-west of Yarlung district. Tibetan history does not make it clear who founded Lhasa capital. Songtsen Gampo is considered to be the first historical king and is supposed to be the one who built the Jokhang Temple at Lhasa.⁷⁸ This, however, does not imply that Songtsen Gampo founded Lhasa capital. Relating to this matter, William Gill writes, "The Yarlung valley was the traditional cradle of the Tibetan monarchy which only later time moved into the western highland of Lhasa".⁷⁹ Their tradition claims that the legendary king Nyatri Tsenpo came down to the mountain, called Yar Iha Shampo in the Yarlung district, which was hallowed by the king's descent there. Thus Yar Iha Shampo was held sacred. This suggests that at one time Mount Yar Iha Shampo probably represented the object of the Tibetan royal sacrifice in the same tradition as Mount Pupa did to the Pagan royal sacrifice. One may wonder if Mount Yar Iha Shampo was formerly called Zothang. It is not also known whether Zothang and Zokhang(Stone Pillar) were synonymous in tradition. The Lai term *tlang*, the Tedim term *taang*, and the modern Burmese *taung* commonly denote Hills or Mountains. Inspite of this fact, the mountain called *Laytha* *taung* in Burmese (Kennedy Peak) to the east of Tedim town is uniquely

72. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 28.

73. *Ibid.*

74. See Map II.

75. G.S.R.U.B. *Burmese Political History*, I:203-205.

76. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 37.

77. Map III, "Ancient Tibet and neighbouring areas", *Tibetan Civilization*,

78. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*

79. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand*, 1:34.

called *Thaang-mual*⁸⁰ in Tedim, and the British War Command Post 'Fort White' on the mountain was likewise called *Thaangpi* by the Tedims. The word *thang* (pronounced *htang*) is commonly taken as personal name which has the meaning of being 'famous' or 'popular' or 'well-known', and so forth. *Thaang-mual* over 8000 ft. is the highest hill in Tedim area, and it looks like an almighty one. Therefore, the title *Thaang* (probably the same as *Thang*) given to this high mountain has the meaning 'almighty' in similar sense to "El Shaddai" in the Old Testament tradition (Gen.17:1). There is thus good reason to derive that the Tibetan culture term *Zothang* or *Shothang* and the Zo legendary name *Zo-tlang* were one and the same place probably a sacred mountain which was once worshipped by Zo ancestors in Tibet. If this were the event, then the original title might have been annexed in a later time by a different deity called *Yar Iha Shampo* in the same practice as the original deity of Mount Pupa was annexed by Mahagiri Nats to be called *Popa*.

The Chou ruling house, since its decline and transfer to Loyang in the north-east of its seat in the Wei river valley, disappeared from the ancient political scene, but appeared again in 557 AD. and reigned for 32 years as the Northern Chou dynasty. This date is the time when a royal line represented by Songtsen Gampo appeared in Yarlung district of Tibet. King Songtsen Gampo is recorded as to have been born in 557 A.D. and to have died in 650 AD.⁸¹ The date at which Songtsen Gampo was born coincides with that at which the rule of the Topa dynasty came to an end and a Chou royal lineage rose to power in North China. This historical context reminds one of what Rev. Dr. E.H.East mentions as Chong-Ching-Ling kingdom in the Trans Himalia.⁸² The name of the king 'Chong-Ching-Ling' strikingly resembles 'Chong-Ching- Mang-Ling' the legendary great man of the Hakhas. It is clear from his own words that Rev. Dr. East identifies Chong-Ching-Ling with the legendary great man Chong-Ching-Mang-Ling. It is not, however, known what particular place the kingdom of Trans Himalia refers: Yarlung or Lhasa. Marco Polo's narratives, "He split off from other Chinese" suggest that the first kingdom in Tibet was connected with the Topa dynasty in North China. If such was the history, Songtsen Gampo could not be the founder of the kingdom in Trans Himalia, because he was born on the date at which the Topa dynasty was replaced; that is 557 AD. So it is not impossible that the name Tibet was derived from Topa.

The Tibetan word *Jokhang* is the title given to a Stone Pillar at Lhasa. The way the Tibetans treat it suggest that *Jokhang* symbolizes the Tibetan nationality. Though what is inscribed on it has not been properly studied as yet *Jokhang* appears to represent Jo genealogy, because the last syllable *khang* means genealogy in Tedim. It bears the image of sacred mountain, *YarIha Shampo* in Yarlung district. No matter whether *Zothang* locates in Amdo or Kongpo or Yarlung or even somewhere else, the striking point is the

80. According to Zo Spelling of Wade System, double vowel is sometimes used to indicate the sound prolonged like 'h' in English literature as in Yahweh where 'h' indicates the sound that is lengthened.

81. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 38.

82. East, *Burma Manuscript*, Himalia' as I am in sure need of change of occupation, and though I am reading as fast as I can, the first thing of interest I came to was, when he describes the 'Chong-Ching-Ling' building a separate kingdom, i.e., he split off from the other Chinese and formed a kingdom of his own"...."The Hakas claim that one of their first great men was called 'Ching-ching-Mang-Ling'. It is certain that these people were of the same stock of people under the same man"

similarity between the Tibetan *Zothang* and the Zo *Zo-tlang* in traditional conception and terminology. Even if *Zothang* (*Zo-tlang*) had not represented any particular locality or place, it must have, at least, represented by country of Tibet in the same practice as Chin-Hills is referred to *Lai-tlang* by the Lai speakers in an identification of the hills with the people. Similarly, *Zothang* or *Zo-tlang* would have meant Zo mountains like the mountains in Burma which are referred to as *Yoma*.

The Tedims sometimes refer to Chin-Hills as *Khamtung* and alternately use *Khamtung-mi* for an inclusive term to represent the Hills-Chins in general. *Kham* denotes here hill slope and *tung* means 'on' or 'over' or 'above' whereas *mi* means man or people. Therefore, *Kham-tung-mi* would literally mean the people on the hill slope. The term thus mean 'mountain people' or 'hill tribes'. The Zos in Paletwa area in Chin State take the word *Khami* for their own name, which, according to their tradition, is the composite of two separate names: *Kham* and *Mi* representing two separate groups of immigrants from Tibet.⁸³ A close study of the story relating to the origin of the name makes one suspect the legend as a reconstructed one. The Tedim word *Kham-tung-mi* or *Kham-mi* and the Paletwa *Khami* were certainly the same designation in origin, probably referring to the hilly country from which they came.

The river Yangtse takes its source from Kunlun mountain, flowing towards south-east in parallel with Mekhong which starts from the Tibetan plateau. These two great rivers by passing through the eastern part of Tibet create a vast hill slope there. That part of Tibet in Tibetan term is called *Kham*. As shown on the map, the *Kham* proper lies in the mountainous region between Yangtse and Mekhong. The two rivers keep apart again from some distance just before the Yangtse turns easterly. So the Tibetan *Kham* looks like that of Tedim in the sense of referring to the hilly country. The Tibetan *Kham* region is still inhabited by such Tibeto-Burman speakers as Lolo, Muhsos, Ch'iang, etc.⁸⁴ The people living there are accordingly called *Khams*, being related in language, belief, and customs to the Tibetans.⁸⁵ For instance, the *Khams* were distinguishable by their customary practices of drinking alcohol like the Zos. The custom of sacrificing victims to conform an oath and the setting up of stone monuments at the time of oath making are reported to be still practised till the present day in *Kham*.⁸⁶ The unique characteristic feature of the *Khams* is that they are mentioned as 'good fighters' like the Zos who also still preserve the primitive vitality of ancient Ch'iang. Regarding Zo valour in war, General George White is describing his experience in the war with the Hills-Chins states thus: "Most difficult enemy to see or hit I ever fought".⁸⁷ In fact the Tibetan form of tradition and culture is featured by those of Ch'iang and *Khams*. Although oral transmissions do not tell definitely of Zo settlement in *Kham*, the close similarities between the two peoples suggest their close relation.

What deserves to be mentioned is the Karen source of migration myths since Zo and Karen were believed to have common origin.⁸⁸ According to their tradition, *Htaw Meh Pa* was the founder of the Karen race. He led his people to seek a new and better

83. B.S.P.P., *The Cultures and Customs of the Indigenous Race* (Chin), 62-64.

84. Stein, *Tibetan civilization*, 200.

85. *Ibid.*, 27.

86. *Ibid.*, 200.

87. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:28

88. Luce, "Chin-Hills Linguistic Tour", JBRS, June 1959, 31, "I am rather surprised, I admit, to find so much in common between Chin and Karen. No doubt they have a common origin".

land. One day he came to a river called Hti Seh Meh ywa which means 'River of Running Sand'. Early missionaries seem to have made the search for the whereabouts of this legendary place. This story reminds one of the river Kin Sha Kiang or Chin-Sha Kiang which is the river Yangtse on the map. This river flows through the Kham region. William Gill translates the name as 'The River of Golden Sand' which he takes as the title for his travel.⁸⁹ The name of this river, though not so convincing, purports to identify itself with Hti Meh Seh ywa. This seems to be in agreement with what Luce states as follows:

Around the beginning of Christian era, the Karen - like the Lolo, whose language is a good deal closer to Burmese - broke off eastwards from the main North-South movement of tribes of the Tibet-China border land. Very likely they followed the bends of the Upper Yangtze.⁹⁰

Kin Sha Kiang is said literally to have meant 'Gold Sand River' which suggests to one that the regional name *Kham* could very well have referred to 'gold' which is *kham* in Shan and Tedim-Zo. Whatever the term *kham* might have meant, either hill slope (hilly region) or gold, what seems certain is that the Zo term *kham* for a self-reference must have been brought from Tibet. This brief account for *Kham* suggests the route followed by some group of Chin speakers who facing difficulties to cross over the snow-covered high mountains between the rivers Salween and Brahmaputra turned westward and entered into Assam.⁹¹ If what Marco Polo describes as Chong-Chin-Ling was one and the same man with the Hakha legendary great man, Chong-Ching-Mang-Ling, one has to assume that some tribal groups of the Northern Chin were still in Tibet in the sixth century AD. It is also to be conjectured that those Chins who use the word *kham* for mountain people might have come down through the Tibetan Kham region. If these were to be the historical context, there is fairly firm reason to assume that the founders of the settlements around Mount Pupa and Mount Turan in Central Burma might have come through the 'land of Pu' which lies in the Tibetan Kham region.

Dr. Stein has been quoted as stating that by the time the Tibetan royal line appeared in Yarlung district, two important nations with Ch'iang population occupied the Kham region. These were 'Land of Women' (*Nukuo* in Tibetan) and 'Land of Pu'. The Ch'iang were, according to Dr. Stein, in contact with another called *Sumpa* in Tibetan or *Supi* (Chinese) in the north-east of Tibet.⁹² He places these peoples at the general area where he places Zothang. He also mentions another people called *To-Mi*, and he indicates as if the Ch'iang, the Tibetans, the Chinese, and the *To-Mi* spread from there over ancient China and Tibet. This Tibetan account of ancient tribes brings one back to the *Zo-tlang* of Chin Hills. According to one source of Lailun tradition, a man named Fa Lam was from *Zo-tlang* in the west of Falam town. Fa Lam issued a man named *Sumpui* who settled at the place called *Sumpui* near Falam town. It looks very likely that Zo legendary name *Sumpui* from *Zo-tlang* was a reminiscence of the *Sumpa* or *Sipi* in the Tibetan

89. Gill, *The River of Golden Sand*, I:17

90. Luce, "Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Language", JBRS, June 1959, 11.

91. Burma Socialist Programme Party Headquarters, *The view and Conviction of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma concerning the Affairs of the national Groups*, (Yangon: Sapay Beikman Press, 1982), 37.

92. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, p.29.

Zothang which Dr. Stein places at somewhere the point in the north-east of Tibet, where central latitude 34^0 and longitude 92^0 are crossing. The region where Dr. Stein places Zothang corresponds generally to the east of central Asian highland, with which Lewis connects Chin native origin.⁹³ All this historical and cultural elements seems to have proved the historicity of Zo-tlang which is told in Zo tradition like Zo homeland. Dr. Stein places Zothang there probably not because tradition specifies, but, perhaps, history indicates, its actual location still remains to be searched. One will wonder if the Zos who use the title *Topa* for lord had belonged to the To-Mi.

And, again, the Tibetan monkey-rock myth is not uncommon also in other sources of Tibeto-Burman tradition. The Kachin source, too, says that the Kachin progenitor was a monkey.⁹⁴ The Tedim funeral rites contain the ritual singing of a sacral song which is said to have been what a monkey uttered as thus: "Black are the birds *khankha*, seeing his eyes winking and his hands grasping a hoe am I determined to obtain the *daidek* over there".⁹⁵ This sacral song is traditionally considered to be so sacred that it was not made known to ordinary people particularly young people. It is citable only by the village-priests only at funeral ceremonies. Without first reciting it, the dead cannot be taken out to the grave. The Tedim myth mentions a catastrophe in the form of Darkness (*Khimzing* in Tedim) which once fall upon the surface of the earth, during the period of which nothing but animal bones could be lighted. The myth says that during that darkness all men became monkey and all women became rock. This myth suggests that Ch'iang at one time lived side by side with monkeys, perhaps, in a forested country. The Kachin source as related by U Zau Tawng pictures Himalayan mountains as the place of the monkey-ancestor.

According to the Mizo source, a Chinese prince who, with many followers, set out from China and arrived at the foot of a very high mountain which the prince gave the name Himale Eitue.⁹⁶ The myth goes on to relate that the fleeing prince came back and reached the Shan State in Burma, from where he was known and handed down as having the name Chinlung. This legend brings one to Ladakh, a province in the Kashmir State of India, inhabited by some Tibeto-Burman speakers. Ladakh originally belonged to Tibet and was often called 'Great Tibet'.⁹⁷ K. Zawla gives some instances of linguistic similarities between the Ladakhs and the Mizos.⁹⁸ The most unique feature of the Ladakhi language is that the pass on the high road from Srinagar to Dras and Ladakh is called Zoji La.⁹⁹ So one has to wonder if the Tibetan Zothang, the Zo Zo-tlang, and the

93. B.S.P.P., *Customs of the Indigenous Race* (Chin), 74.

94. Personal Interview with U.N.D. Zau Tawng, 1980.

95. The Tedim myth relating to a struggle with monkey is said as thus : In an olden time, a man made a plan to kill monkeys. To do so he pretended to be a dead man. He posed himself at the *sunden* like a real dead body. (Suden is a frame of two wooden poles set up jointly by the back door of Zo traditional house building. The dead is seated against the wooden frame, with the legs being stretched out parallel with the floor. The dead body is kept there for a certain period of days). He posed himself thus handling a hoe ready to strike the monkey when entered the house. At the moment the monkey came in, the man lost his pretense and his eyes moved. Learning that the seated one was not a dead body, the monkey ran out of the house as he uttered the words saying, "A va vom dim dim, *khankha* vom dimdim, tuga bawk tawi ka muhknha zang-a *Daidek* man tong ci-ing".

96. Zawla, *Mizo Pi Pute*, 6-7.

97. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Tibeto-Burman family".

98. Mr. K. Zawla says that what is called *thiani* meaning girl friend in Mizo is called *ruali* in Ladakhi, which also is girl friend in another form of Mizo language. (Mizo Pi Pute leh an Thlate Chanchin, pp.6-7.)

99. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Tibeto-Burman Family".

Ladakhi Zoji La commonly refer to the same place, i.e., the Himalayan Mountain. It is interesting to know how the Tibeto-Burman speakers got there. Were they from China as the Mizo source relates? or were they from Chaldaean as some scholars are tending to assume?

Origin Of The Name Chin

Enthusiasts of Zo history have made attempts at tracing the origin and unveiling the meaning of the racial name *Chin*. But no one has as yet given conclusive evidence against Luce's conclusion that Chin (Khyan in Old Burmese without its tonal mark) was derived from the Burmese word for 'ally' or 'comrade' in reference to the good relation between the Chindwin Chins and Pagan Burmans. Relating to this, Luce gives his reason as follows:

Chin is a Burmese word meaning "fellow, companion, friend". And two things about these old inscriptions strike me. One is that there is no reference in them to fighting between Burmans and Chins. There is reference to journeys up the Chindwin to procure slaves; but in those days that may not mean raiding: it was very likely a peaceful trading operation. The Pagan Burman had wars with the Thets (Sak), the Kadu (Kantu), the Mons, the Shans and the Wa-Palaungs, but he called the Chins "friends". Moreover, while he pushed far up the Yaw, the Mu and the Irrawaddy, he apparently did not do so up the Chindwin.¹⁰⁰

Judging by the close similarities between the two peoples, apart from their historical relation, one finds it difficult not to concede this analogy of history. The facts given do not merely indicate the existence of a peaceful relation, but even suggest a kinship between the two tribes. Nevertheless, the findings of this study give one the impression of the case to be in contrast to what Luce interprets.

G.A. Grierson in his work, *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1909, refers to over thirty authorities on the Kuki-Chin languages, of which seventeen are the writings before 1880 AD. These early writings variously pronounce and spell the word for Chin, in such forms as *Khyang*, *Khyeng*, *Kheng*, *Khyan*, *Kiayn*, *Kyaw*, and so on.¹⁰¹ Father Sangarmano seems to be the earliest one who spells the word Chien. It is only in 1881 that the word is found first spelt as *Chin* by Major W. Gwynne. Since then the conventional spelling for the name became established and the 'Chin Hills Regulation, 1896' officially adopted it to represent 'the various hill tribes living in the country between Burma and the Province of Assam and Bengal'.

Linguistic Survey discovers *Khyang* in use as the word applied to the plains-Chins who called themselves Sho or Asho pronounced with its tonal marks. The Survey remarks that the plains-Chins were called *Chin* by the Burmans and *Khyang* or *Khyeng* by the Arakanese (Rakhine) pronunciation of the same word.¹⁰² The Survey, therefore, concludes, "Thus Chin is written and dialectically Khyang".¹⁰³ Relating to the same case, F.K. Lehman states that the term *Chin* is imprecise and is a Burmese word *Khyang*, not a Chin word.¹⁰⁴ It is also interesting to note that the Shan word for the same people

100. Luce, "Chin Hills-Linguistic Tour (Dec. 1954) University Project", JBRs, June 1959, 26.

101. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, 1909, s.v. "Kuki-Chin Group".

102. *Ibid.*

103. *Ibid.*

104. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 3.

is somewhat like Chiang. At the same time, the Thados (Tedim speakers) call the Shan *Tai*. The reciprocal applications appear to be more genuine, because their respective traditions commonly maintain that the Shans and the Zos lived together in the Chindwin valley. The word *Khyang* or *Chiang*, on the other, recalls a tribal name *Khiangte* now included in the Mizo (Lushai) speakers.

It has been said that Chindwin was known to the Chinese author as *Mi-no-chiang*. It is not certain whether the tribal name *Chiangtha*, a Zo linguistic group in the present Rakhine State, was adopted in reference to the Chinese term *Mi-no-chiang* meaning the 'river people'. Mention has been made of two words homologous in spelling, but different in reference. These are *Chiang* and *Ch'ang* in which the former denotes river and the latter denotes shepherd or nomad people. It is not known whether the Shan word *Chiang* for Chin and the Chinese term *Ch'ang* are for the same people. Mr. Chen-ji-sein has been quoted as saying that the phonetic character *Ch'ang* pronounces more like *Khyang*. Regarding this phonetic character, what Grant Brown speaks of as follows seems to make the case clear:

The sound formerly written Hky or Kh (hk or kh being a k aspirated as in English though more strongly), but now, pronounces as Ch retains something of its old pronunciation.¹⁰⁵

This fact has pointed out that *Ch'ang* and *Khyang* produce the same sound. This may follow that what scholars employ as *Ch'ang* for a people of ancient China was the same term with *Khyang*, the same word for the same people. This study again finds two terms used by different scholars to represent the same people; *Ch'ang* and *Ch'in* in which the former is the Tibetan form and the latter is the Chinese form. So it looks as if *Ch'in* produces the same sound as Chian, Chien, or Khyan and the like. In that sense the Chinese form *Ch'in* or Chien as in the Tagaung *Chien-tu* is found similar to the Old Burmese transliterated as *Khyan*. What makes things more confusing is the fact that the Old Burmese *Khyan* is written without its tonal mark whereas the modern word for the same people is written with its tonal mark. As a matter of fact, when the name *Khyan* was inscribed, the Burmese writings including the tone had already been in use.¹⁰⁶

Now one is required to look into the literary context in which history is written. *Man-shu* has been mentioned as the work of Fan Ch'o in the Tang dynastic period of China. Fan Ch'o does not identify the ethnology of what he describes as *Mi-no-chiang* with the *Ta-erh*, the Big Eared people, nor does he relate the Big Eared people with the *Mi-no* people. It is found that the Chinese literary of Mongol dynasty refers to the Kadu (*Kantu*) as *Chien-tu*. At the same time, the Old Burmese *Khyan* begins to occur in the Pagan literary only from the beginning of the thirteenth century, the day that corresponds with the time of the Mongol influence of Pagan country. This also coincides with the time when the word *mien*, the Chinese term for Pagan nationality, first appears in Burmese literature. "Mongol-Chinese influence," says Luce, "was paramount at the Burmese capital".¹⁰⁷ So there is reason to believe that Pagan literary probably borrowed

105. Brown, *Burma Gazetteer, Upper Chindwin*, A:20.

106. All-round system of writing Burmese including the tones was introduced by princess Ajawlat in the Dhammayangyi inscription of 1165 AD. ("Old kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans". (JBRs. June 1959),92.

107. "The Chinese word for Burma - Mien-does not appear till 1271 A.D." ("Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th-13th centuries AD", JBRs, June 1959),53.

the Chinese terms *Mien* for Burma and *Chien* or *Chien-tu* for Chin to describe them. This derivation seems to be in line with the statement made by Rev. J.H.Cope in connection with Zo history. Thang Tuan, the Tedim story-teller, quotes Cope as telling him that they (Chins) came from Tagaung.¹⁰⁸ If such was not the history, Khyan without its tonal mark and Chin with its tonal mark must have been different words referring to separate peoples of the same period of time. In that case, *Chin* may have meant 'comrade' or 'fellow' or 'ally' as Luce claims.

There is convincing evidence to claim that the present Burmese language still retains its ancient Ch'ang language. To quote an instance, the mountain Tai Shan represented Ch'ang royal cult and is termed *Tung Yo* or *Yo*¹⁰⁹ as in *Yoma* in Burmese. Shih-Huang-ti, the first Emporer of ancient Zo Empire, is said to have received from *Tung Yo* the heavenly Mandate to rule all that was on earth.¹¹⁰ According to the Tibetan form of Ch'ang tradition, too, the first Tibetan king came down from heaven. Chi'ang cultural practice thus shows that Ch'ang believed Heaven or Sky as the source of all secular authority. Ch'ang people believed mountains as the embodiment of Heaven and called it YO. Relating Ch'ang belief of Sky as practised by the Tibetans, Dr. Stein describes as follows:

The ladder of rope connecting sky to earth takes its name *mu* from that of a class of deities, who live on one of the storeys of the sky. Their associates, probably on another floor, are the *phaya*.¹¹¹

Both terms *mu* and *phaya* are derived from the Ch'ang language signifying Sky or Sky God (Mu-bya, mbya, etc.).¹¹² Therefore, Tibeto-Burman language as spoken by the Pagan Burmans can be identified in terms of Ch'ang language. For instance, the Northern Zo word for God is *Pasian* or *Pa'shian* whereas the Burmese word for the same deity is *Phaya*. All these facts suggest to one the possibility that the Pagan Burmans applied their generic name to their relatives, the Khyan.

108. Thang Tuan tells that Zo people first came down through the river sources of Irrawaddy to Tagaung as Tibeto-Burman tribes. And from Tagaung they (Tibeto-Burman tribes) split into Pyu, Kanyan, and Thet. The Zos belonged to the Thet. ("Khamtung mite Tangthu" p.1).

109. Latourette, *The Chinese*, 531.

110. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese*, 99.

111. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 221.

112. *Ibid.*

APPENDIX-I

ADOPTION OF THE NAME ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION

There had never been any formally constituted organization of the Christian churches in the Chin Hills. When I returned from the U.S.A. arriving at Rangoon on 18th September, 1950, I was invited to speak at the Annual Meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Fellowship in October. In my speech I attempted to express what I thought to be most essential for the growth of Christianity among our people. I explained that the Chin Hills had been the most neglected and the least developed area in Burma. To remedy this I made the following two proposals:

- (1) In order to strengthen the Christian churches, the village churches should be formed into properly constituted local associations and there should be overall organization embracing all the organizations.
- (2) A well-experienced missionary should come and make a survey of all the Chin-Hills and give us advice on various projects of development.

The Missionary Fellowship approved both proposals. Accordingly, Mission Secretary E.E. Sowards visited the Chin Hills during February and March 1952. By that time both the Tedim and Hakha Missionaries had left on furlough. So I myself had to accompany him throughout his survey tour. At the conclusion of his survey tour he advised me as follows:

(a) He said the government in recent months changed its policy on mission work in Burma. Under this new policy our days of missionaries in Burma were numbered. And we might be asked to leave the country any day. What you proposed in October 1950 must be proceeded forthwith. You just start forming properly constituted Christian bodies - local associations and an overall convention, as speedily as you could. This properly constituted Christian bodies must be ready to take overall missionary work whenever the missionaries had to leave.

(b) And when this convention was formed it should be purely national organization, bearing national name, and run by national personnels. No foreign missionaries should hold any official position and should not be a member of any committee, but should work in an advisory capacity only.

According to his advice, I began forming the Tedim, Falam, and Hakha Associations during 1952. Then in order to constitute an overall organization, I asked the three Associations to select ten leaders each from the three Associations to form a Constitution Drafting Committee.

This Constitution Drafting Committee met at Falam Baptist Church during the last week of October and the first week of November 1952. I acted as Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee.

(1) Having explained to the Committee that we were forming a purely national organization, I proposed that the name of our organization should bear our own national

name. Outsiders call us Chin, but we never call ourselves by that name. So I believe you all agree to reject Chin to be the name of our organization and all the members of the Committee agreed by acclamation.

(2) Then I proposed that we should take ZOMI as our name as this is our correct historical name. An we should call our organization ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION.

(3) A man sprang to his feet and rejected the name ZOMI outright saying, "Saya, in Hakha we apply this word Zo to the most backward and the most despicable people. So we do not want this name for our big Christian organization".

(4) "In that case what name do you like?" I asked and he replied, "LAIMI".

(5) Then I explained, "I proposed ZOMI because I believe it is the correct original historical name of our people, from the Naga Hills to the Bay of Bengal. To the north of Tedim, the Thados and other tribes call themselves YO, in Falam, LAIZO. The Tedim people call themselves ZO, the Lushais, MIZO, in Hakha, ZOTUNG, ZOPHEI, ZOKHUA. In Gangaw area ZO is pronounced YAW, in Mindat, JO or CHO, and in Paletwa KHOMI. In Prome, Thayetmyo, Sandoway, and Bassein areas they call themselves A-Sho. So I am convinced that inspite of slight variations this ZO is our original historical national name".

(6) After this explanation the Rev. Sang Ling who was the most senior and revered pastor from Hakha stood up and said, "What Saya Hau Go has just said is correct. In our younger days we were told that we were born at YOTLANG. And ZO is our true original name. The word LAI is not our national name. LAI was first used by demizens of Hakha. It means our village people, our own local people, as distinct from outsiders. It is not our national name". Saying this, he wayed to Rev. Sang Fen who also was the second eldest and most respected pastor and asked, "What is your opinion on this, Saya?".

(7) The Saya Sang Fen stood up and briefly said, "I agree. I believe ZO is our national name and I myself am the pastor of ZO- KHUA".

(8) After the two most senior and revered pastors of the Hakha area rose and spoke in support of my proposal, not a single voice of dissent was heard and the name ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION was unanimously approved.

(9) What the Constitution Drafting Committee had approved at the Falam meeting was officially and universally adopted by the general meeting at Saikah, March 5-7, 1953.

The lone dissenting voice seemed to be a more idiosyncracy or at best a limited local usage without any sound historical basis, because not a single member of the Constitution Drafting Committee voiced any support at Falam. The general meeting held on March 5-7, 1953 at Saikah village in the now Thantlang township of Hakha area was attended by 3,000 Christians. Of these about two hundred were from the Falam area and less than ten from the Tedim area, because Saikah was 7-9 days' foot journey from Tedim area. Even there where by far the vast majority of delegates were from the Hakha area there was not a single voice of support for LAIM. I, but the name ZOMI BAPTIST CONVENTION was born, named and based on the foundation of historical truth,

confirmed by the General Meeting at Saikah with the most remarkable spirit of Christian harmony and unity never experienced before or since.

I was asked, out of necessity, to serve temporarily for one year as General Secretary, pending the arrival of the Rev. David Van Bik who was ear-marked to relieve me on arrival from the U.S.A. the following year.

Signed

Rangoon 1st December 1988

Sukte T. Hau Go

APPENDIX-II

CIIMNUAI CHRONOLOGY

The account of Zo culture suggests its own origin back to untold ages. It, however, looks as if Zo has no history. It is not that Zo has no history, but because it has no written language. The founding of Ciimnuai seems to have been no longer than five hundred years. Yet the founding story is told like legend and myth. Ciimnuai settlement is of real history with no chronology. An account of event with no date can hardly be reckoned as an history. Legend or myth contains history because it reflects what had happened in the past. Therefore, the task of student of Zo history is to study and to analyze the account of legend and to distinguish what is history from what is not.

The expansion of Pagan kingdom in the twelfth century A.D. to the west seems to have affected the dispersal of the Old Chin (Old Kuki) or Yaw Chin from the Yaw and Saw Valleys to Chin Hills. The northward movements of migration suggest that since the twelfth century, Zo occupation of Chin Hills may have taken place in successive waves. F.K. Lehman supposes that Chin Hills must have been occupied by other Zo at early time. Some early researchers like C.C. Lowis tend to suppose that Chin Hills might have been occupied from north to south. If this was the history, then it would be assumed that Chin Hills was first peopled by some unknown tribes probably before the time the present historical evidence indicates. It lies beyond one's comprehension to point out the tribes who first set foot on Chin Hills. The Kukis, Lehman says, seem first to have been mentioned in the Manipuri chronicles about 1554 A.D. (*The Structure of Chin Society*, p.25). A.G.Grierson on the other hand mentions that the Rangkhol and Bete tribes who formerly lived in the Chin-Lushai Hills were expelled by the Thados who were in turn driven to the north into Manipur by the Suktes under their Chief Khan Thuam. He dates this event at somewhere between 1840 and 1850 AD. (*Linguistic Survey of India*, 1904, s.v. "Thado"). By adjusting with this date, Ciimnuai Chronology can be determined.

Carey and Tuck write, "Neyan (Nei Zalh) of Chin Nwe (Ciimnuai) is the father of the Siyin tribe; he lived 13 generations ago and he had three sons, Ne Nu(Nge Ngu),

Vamluk (Vang Lok), and Daitong (Dai Tawng) "(*The Chin Hills*, I:127). This record indicates that Zo settlement at Ciimnuai had been not later than thirteen generations in 1890 AD., the date on which Carey and Tuck took the record. It is the conventional practice to take 25 years for one generation in which case 13 generations would be equivalent to 325 years (13 x 25). So it can be assumed that Nge Ngu, the founder of Suantak settlement, lived in Ciimnuai in about 1575 AD (1890-325). Hence the world record, "Chin history is traceable to about 1600 AD."(Encyclopaedia Britannica (Micropaedia), s.v. "Chin") Since Ciimnuai generation in reference is represented by that of the Siyin tribe, Nge Ngu generation deserves to be taken provisionally for the Table of Ciimnuai Genealogy.

The rise of the Suktes under Khan Thuam marks a mile-stone in the history of the Tedims. It is said that at the time Khan Thuam grew up to become a competent contender for power, the Nine *Mangs* (*MangKua* in Tedim) planned a plot to kill him. Story-tellers differ relating to the list of the Nine *Mangs*. In establishing Ciimnuai chronology, these contending *Mangs* in Tedim area may represent the standard of Zo generations. Hereafter, Zo genealogy will be denoted by ZG and Ciimnuai Genealogy will be denoted by CG. The Table of ZG is given in Appendix III. And Khan Thuam will be taken as the central figure in reference.

Mat Tuang of Khuasak was a chief or mang probably contemporary with Nine *Mangs* who plotted the life of Khan Thuam. And, again, Khup Pau was the grandson of Mat Tuang and lived in the 1890s. When the British army invaded Tedim, Khup Pau ruled in Khuasak and Khaw Cin, the grandson of Khan Thuam, ruled in the Kamhau Tracts. So, Khup Pau and Khaw Cin were contemporary figure in Tedim history. The rule of Khan Thuam is dated at 1840 AD. Therefore, the rule of Khup Pau and Khaw Cin(3rd generation of Khan Thuam) coincides with 1890AD. (1840+50), the date on which the British army invaded Tedim, where Khup Pau and Khaw Cin led their tribes in the resistance movements. The genealogical line of Nge Ngu who was native of Ciimnuai is represented by Zam Khan Mung, the 17th CG. and the 23rd ZG. (*Zosuank Khang Simna Laibu*, by Captain K.A. Khup Za Thang, p.73). So the period of 17 CGs. is equivalent to 425 years (17x25). This suggests that Nge Ngu lived in Ciimnuai 425 years ago in which case the founding of Suantak settlement below the present Khuasak may have been in the 1560s of Christian era (1990-425=1565).

The Tedim chronicle as given in the the *Zosuank Khang Simna laibu* (Genealogy of the Zo (Chin) of Burma), maintains that Zo was the progenitor of all Zo people. So Ciin Hil and Kip Mang, the 2nd ZG, are to be assumed as the immediate ancestors of the Ciimnuai descendants. The period of the 23rd of ZG as represented by Zam Khan Mung may cover 575 years. So it looks as if Ciin Hil and Kip Mang had lived 575 years ago or in the 1400s (1990-575=1415) of the Christian era, but not in Ciimnuai. So there is ample reason to assume that the founding of Ciimnuai capital may have been made after 1400 AD. According to tradition, Song Thu was the tribal Chief who led the founding of the Ciimnuai settlement and he is placed at the 5th of ZG. Assuming that Ciin Hil and Kip Mang were historical figure, the ZG of Song Thu needs to be placed at the 4th of ZG. If that was to be the case it may follow that Song Thu would have lived

in the 1500s AD. (1400 + 100 years from Ciin Hil to Song Thu). It is, therefore, to be taken that Ciimnuai age begins around 1500AD. This date generally corresponds to 1475 AD in which the Shans invaded and destroyed Khampat, the Zo capital in the New Chindwin.

Tradition has it that such old settlements as Geeltui, Saizang, Dimpi, Vangteh, Teizang (Mualbem), Suantak, Kalzang, etc., were founded from Ciimnuai. It is not known how long the founders of these settlements had lived in Ciimnuai. Nge Ngu, the founder of Suantak capital, is said to have been Ciimnuai native and he is placed at the fifth generation from Song Thu. Based on this genealogical chronology, Suantak may have been founded after four generations approximately 100 years. And, again, according to Naulak clan chronicle, Dimpi was founded from Geeltui and the earliest known chief of the village was El Thuam who is placed at the 11th ZG, contemporary with Suan Kai, the Kalzang Chief. All these accounts of genealogies suggest that all these old settlements were made after one century of dwelling at Ciimnuai. This means that these settlements were made in not earlier than 1600 AD. This chronology is found coincided with the Guite chronicle that the Guite ruled in Ciimnuai for four generations.

And, again, the 17th century A.D., approximately round about 1800 AD., marks the period in which there arose from these separate villages contending Mangs who were competing one another for superiority. These brought them to the Falams who ruled Tedim saved the Sihzang tribes through their vassal Khan Thuam. This time marks the period when the Ciimnuai descendants were unified into three major tribes, namely, the Suktes, the Kamhaus, and the Sihzangs. So what has been mentioned gives one the chronological picture that the Ciimnuai age covers the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Only beginning from the eighteenth century, Chin Hills entered into modern age when the Zos acquired fire arms and began to exert their political influence over neighbouring tribes. The unconditional rule marks the beginning of a new epoch of history in which life in all aspects underwent rapid change. People had to live under one authority and ceased to be feuding against one another. The British administration itself was the one who taught the feuding Zos that they were of the same people.

APPENDIX-III**TABLES OF THE NORTHERN ZO GENEALOGIES**

Sihzang Genealogy ¹	Sukte Genealogy ²	Kamhau Genealogy ³	Zahau Genealogy ⁴
1. - Zo	.....	.....	.....
2. Ciin Hil, Kip Mang	.....	.....	.....
3. Naw Phut, Lei Mang	.....	.....	.....
4. Naw Song	.....	.....	.....
5. Song Thu	.....	.....	.....
6. Sung Mang	.....	.....	.....
7. Za Hong	.....	.....	.....
8. Thuan Tak	1. Suk Te	1. Suk Te	.....
9. Nge Ngu	2. Suk Zo	2. Suk Zo	.....
10. Lamh Tam	3. Mang Cin	3. Mang Cin	1. Za Hau
11. Nei Zalh	4. Mang Tun	4. Mang Tun	2. Thla Cong
12. That Lang	5. Mang Piang	5. Mang Piang	3. Kip Kual
13. Kun Tong	6. Ngai Neek	6. Ngai Neek	4. Cung Nung
14. Mat Kim	7. Zang Thuk	7. Zang Thuk	5. That Hrin
15. Khan Vum	8. Mang Kim	8. Mang Kim	6. Khaw Kim Thang
16. Mat Tuang	9. Khan Thuam	9. Khan Thuam	7. Khuang Tseo
17. Lamh Tuang	10. Za Pau	10. Kam Hau	8. Thang Bur
18. Ngo Mang	11. Do Thawng	11. Hau Pum	9. Thla Tseo
19. Khup Pau	12. Thuam Za Mang	12. Hau Cin Khup	10. Van Nawl
20. Khai Kam	13. Thawng Mang	13. Pum Za Mang	11. Thang Tin Lian
21. Ngin Zam	14. Mang Lian Khup	14. Sian Lian Pau	12. Ral Dun
22. Vum Khaw Cin	15.	15. Mang Lian Mung	13. Lian Duh Lal
23. Zam Khan Mung	16.	16.	14.

1. K.A. Khup Za Thang, *Genealogy of Zo (Chin) of Burma* (Rangoon : Taungtun Press, 1974), 36.

2. Ibid., 210.

3. Ibid.

4. "Lailun San Thuanthu", 80.

APPENDIX-IV

Origin Myth from Egg

1. Guite was regarded and revered as a noble family. The family chronicle claims its descent from Egg. The Origin Myth runs as follows:

"Once upon a time, a woman came out from a cave. She made a field where she grew cotton and other crops. One day while she was working in the field, the weather was so hot that she was very thirsty. While she was mindful of water, she saw a bird dropping waters from its feathers as it flew. Then she went out towards the direction from which the bird flew to find for water. On her way she found a gourd-plant bearing fruits. And she plucked a gourd and emptied it for her household use. She dried the empty gourd by the sunlight. The sun rays hit the empty gourd everyday through its hole. Every night she took and kept the sun-drying gourd in her granary. One day she heard a child's cry inside the granary. Then she ran in hurry to the granary to inquire what was the matter. To her astonishment, she found a child born out of the empty gourd. The child thus born grew up to become the ancestor of the Guite clan". (*The Report on the early History of Tedim area*, by Son Cin Lian).

2. According to another source of Ciimnuai chronicle, Song Thu, the founder of Ciimnuai capital, had sons, namely, Thah Do, Thah Gen, and Thah Thang of whom Thah Do had a son named Hau Kip and a daughter whose name is not stated. The legend that connects Thah Do with Guite is said as this: Thah Do's daughter was pregnant by laying with her own brother Hau Kip. To cover up this shameful plight, Thah Do created a situation in which the illegitimate child might be believed as being born of a miraculous conception. He then asked to take and to put two hen-eggs into the hole of a tree trunk called *Hual-sing* (*Hual* tree is a kind of hardwood growing only in the highest part of hilly region). Everyday the rays of the sunlight hit the eggs through the hole of the tree trunk. After a certain days, the eggs were taken out for examination if the ray-hit-eggs were edible. It was found that the eggs were not edible. Then one of the sun-rays-hit-eggs was placed in the granary within the house building. When the illegitimate child was born, he was also placed in the same granary where the egg was placed before hand, and the child was declared as if he were born of the ray-hit-egg. The child, the chronicle says, thus born illegitimate grew up to become the ancestor of the Guite family. (*Khamtung Mite Taangthu*, p.23; *The Report on the early History of Tedim area*, p.12.). The story of the illegitimate child seems to be a pure fabrication with the intention to distort the legitimacy of the traditional claim of noble descent from Egg.

3. The Zahau (Yahow) family was also a ruling family the chronicle of which claims its descent from Egg as reproduced below:

"The Yahows affirm that once upon a time, the sun laid an egg on the earth and the Burmese woman picked it upon the Webula hill, and taking it home

with her, placed it in a pot, when in course of time, it hatched and produced four boys. Those boys thrived and grew up to manhood and married women of the people who were in existence when they were hatched. The oldest Hlunseo settled at Kairon, and the second went to Tosum, the third to the village of Klanron, whilst the youngest Yahow founded Klaow village, the present chief, who is the legitimate descendants of the founder of the tribe which bears his name. (The Chin Hills, I:143).

4. The A-Sho (Plains-Chin) source, too, has the same story as follows:

All Man kind is descended from the woman called Hlinyu who laid 101 eggs, from the last laid of which sprang the Chins (The Structure of Chin Society, p.32).

5. The Cho (Kanpetlet) source tells the myth as follows:

There were two brothers of the first man and woman. When they came of age, a piece of leather was dropped from the sky for the first boy, but being uneducated he did not know it was to be used for writing. He cooked it and ate it. Then an egg was dropped, and, as he ate the egg, he read omens from it which showed that he could there-after be known as Chin. Later a piece of leather was dropped for the second boy. The boy wrote on it and became the ancestor of the Burman people. (The Structure of Chin Society, p.32).

APPENDIX-V

List of the Tedim Clans

1. Ainam	16. Daitawng	31. Hangluah	46. Hauhsing	61. Khaman
2. Akgal	17. Darsun	32. Hangman	47. Hauhthang	62. Khawlawm
3. Amei	18. Dongel	33. Hangsawk	48. Hauhzel	63. Khaute
4. Baite	19. Dongul	34. Hangsing	49. Hawlhang	64. Khualum
5. Bawmkhai	20. Dothuk	35. Hangvung	50. Hawlthang	65. Khilkik
6. Bawngmei	21. Dopmul	36. Hangzo	51. Hawlte	66. Khuphil
7. Biangtung	22. Duhlian	37. Hatlang	52. Hilsia	67. Khupno
8. Bochung	23. Dosel	38. Hatlei	53. Hinnung	68. Khupmu
9. Buansing	24. Gangte	39. Hatzaw	54. Huba	69. Khupson
10. Chalkih	25. Gualhang	40. Haukip	55. Innpi	70. Khuptong
11. Chalthleng	26. Gualnam	41. Haulai	56. Insun	71. Khuangdal
12. Cherput	27. Guite	42. Haunam	57. Kawlak	72. Khuanghau
13. Chongloi	28. Gunsung	43. Haunung	58. Kawlni	73. Khuangthang
14. Chongput	29. Halkik	44. Hausing	59. Kawngte	74. Kiikai
15. Choper	30. Hanpa	45. Hautual	60. Khalun	75. Kilte

76. Kimlai	109. Mulpí	141. . Selmang	175. Tavai	208. Tornu
77. Elsing	110. Munluah	142. Sektak	176. Tanghau	209. Tungdim
78. Lawng	111. Munsing	143. Senchong	177. Tangpuá	210. Tunglut
79. Lamhau	112. Munsong	144. Senlun	178. Tangsan	211. Tungnung
80. Lamkai	113. Munsuang	145. Senlut	179. Tawmbing	212. Tungte
81. Lampho	114. Munsuan	146. Sawlnitang	180. Tawtak	213. Tualnuam
82. Langel	115. Namzo	147. Siahliap	181. Taukon	214. Tuisuam
83. Leivang	116. Naulak	148. Siahtak	182. Teilot	215. Thaute
84. Lethil	117. Namthang	149. Sinte	183. Tekhrang	216. Va-ek
85. Lenthang	118. Neihgup	150. Singsuan	184. Tellang	217. Vahui
86. Lianzaw	119. Neihsial	151. Singsei	185. Telngawk	218. Vangaw
87. Luahlang	120. Neihlut	152. Singvum	186. Telsing	219. Vangkom
88. Luhphaw	121. Neekgen	153. Singngul	187. Telthang	220. Vanglok
89. Luhtaing	122. Ngaihte	154. Sithoih	188. Telvung	221. Vaiphei
90. Lunkim	123. Ngaman	155. Sonna	189. Thangom	222. Valte
91. Lunmun	124. Ngawnte	156. Sonchuang	190. Thangman	223. Vawkmai
92. Lunkhel	125. Ngengu	157. Songlam	191. Thangnawk	224. Vomlong
93. Lahtawng	126. Nungzawng	158. Songlun	192. Thangniang	225. Vuileeng
94. Maibung	127. Ngotual	159. Songput	193. Thangcar	226. Vunglu
95. Malneu	128. Neuzaw	160. Songtut	194. Thangpum	227. Vungthang
96. Mangson	129. Pante	161. Sote	195. Thado	228. Zahlang
97. Mangtong	130. Pape	162. Suksak	196. Thahthang	229. Zamang
98. Mangvuk	131. Phaipi	163. Sukte	197. Thawmpuang	230. Zawngbe
99. Mangvung	132. Phan-ai	164. Suankhup	198. Thawmte	231. Zawnggil
100. Manlun	133. Phiamphu	165. Suanman	199. Thatgui	232. Zawngkai
101. Mantuang	134. Phualte	166. Suantak	200. Thatmun	233. Zalut
102. Mate	135. Phuakhil	167. Suante	201. Thatlang	234. Zilom
103. Matmang	136. Phutlun	168. Suanzong	202. Tonlu	235. Zote
104. Matsing	137. Ralte	169. Suahsia	203. Tonlun	236. Zongthang
105. Mimvak	138. Samte	170. Sumniang	204. Tomang	237. Zuisang
106. Mitsum	139. Sailo	171. Siamsuang	205. Tonsing	
107. Mualsun	140. Sate	172. Taithul	206. Tongluai	
108. Mualkhai		173. Taitom	207. Tohing	
		174. Taptah		

(This list of Tedim clans is taken from the "Report on the Cultural History of the Tedim Speakers," by the Tedim Township Information Committee, dated the 29th December, 1969, to Chin Special Division Information Supervision Committee, Haka)

APPENDIX - VI

Table of Tedim and Lushei Genealogies

Sihzang Genealogy ¹	Guite Genealogy ²	Sailo Genealogy ³
1. Zo	1. Nem Nep	1. Ninguite-a
2. Ciin Hil, Kip Mang	2. Nigui	2. Sihsinga
3.	3. Guite	3. Ralna-a
4.	4. Gui Ngen	4. Chhuahlawma
5.	5. Gui Mang	5. Zahmuaka
6.	6. MangSum, Kul Ngen, Nak Sau,	6. Thangura
7.	7. Tuah Ciang	7. Thangmanga
8.	8. Lam Lei	8. Sailova
9. Nge Ngu	9. Bawk Lu	9. Chungnunga, Lianlunga Chengkuala
10. Bok Lu-a	10. Ngek Nguk	10.
11. Ralna	11.	11.
12.	12.	12.
13. Sai Lo	13.	13.
14.	14. ....	....
.....	20. Thang Go, Lam Mang	....
.....	21. ....	....
.....	22. Pum Go	....
27. LaiThangTuanga	27. ....	....
28.	28. Zang Khaw Lian	....

1. Khup Za Thang, *Genealogy of Zo (Chin) Race of Burma*, 36.

2. Ibid., p.210.

3. Lalhangliana, *History of Mizo in Burma*, 18.

PART TWO
ZO CULTURE

1

Zo Origin and Concept

Zo House

According to Chinese history, Chou represented a ruling family which replaced Shang rule in ancient China. It has been mentioned that Chou is believed to have been closely related with Ch'iang tribes. The most significant elements that Zo culture contains of Chou are selected and mentioned as follows:

(1) The conventional spelling of Wade System in the transliterary of Chinese was drastically changed shortly after the death of Mao Tse Tung, the founder of the Chinese Communism. For instance, what has always been written as Peking is changed into Beijing, and Chou into Zhao. The Roman letters Z, J, and Y are usually used interchangeably by different people in accordance with the variations of their respective speeches. In that case the former spelling Chou would now be the same spelling with Zhao, Zao, Jao, Jo, Zhou, Zo, Yao, Yo, and the like.¹ It is very likely that the word was commonly adopted as a noble title by most peoples who once lived under its rule and that the name was variedly spoken as such Shou, Sho, Jaw, Yaw, Saw, Caw, Zau, Sao, and so forth.

(2) The dynastic name Topa strongly suggests its ethnic affinity of Chou which was called the Northern Chou in the Chinese ancient history because the Topa dynasty once reigned there. The Topa tribe has been mentioned as to have belonged to the Ch'iang generic race.

(3) The head of Chou family was not only the political chief but also had the unique privilege of personally offering sacrifice to and worshipping the ancestors who were believed to bestow blessings upon their descendants and guarantee the continuity of the society that it represented.² In the same tradition, the descendants of Song Thu who led the founding of Ciimnuai capital served there as the *Tual* (village) priest as well as the tribal chief during the early period of Ciimnuai lasting for four generations.

1. According to the "Conventional Spelling of Wade system and approximate Equivalents", "Ch" is equivalent to J as in Jam; the vowel 'ou' is equivalent to 'o' as in Joseph; 'ao' is equivalent to 'ow' as in How; (*China a short cultural history*).

2. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), s.v. "China".

(4) According to the rule of Chou succession, legal wives were superior to concubines, and the elder sons were superior to the younger ones. After the king died, for instance, the elder sons of the legal wife (namely the queen) would inherit the throne. This son might be younger than the eldest son of the concubine, but that did not make difference in succession, because legitimacy had priority over seniority.³

(5) According to patrician system and marriage custom, each patrician clan professed to trace its descendants through the male line to a common ancestor - a god, a hero or a monarch. The men were careful not to take wives or even concubines of their own clan name. However, two houses often intermarried for many generations; and sons customarily obtained wives from their mother's family. Then, too, children of a brother and sister might marry being of different clan name.⁴

(6) Sacrifice to sacred mountains was the royal cult of the Chou ruling house. The mountain Tai Shan, the eastern peak in Shantung province, was given the deity YO meaning 'sacred',⁵ that is the mountaintop held sacred.

(7) The Chou prince referred to himself as 'King Fa' in his prayer to his royal ancestors. FitzGerald gives the account of the royal rites as thus:

When Wu, the founder of the Chou dynasty, was ill and likely to die, his brother the Duke of Chou addressed a memorable prayer to the royal ancestors: 'Your chief descendants, King Fa, is crushed with fatigue and illness, if you, Oh three kings, really have need of some one to undertake the duties of a son in heaven take me, Tan, in place of the King Fa.'⁶

Scholars interpret the word *Fa* as the 'son of heaven'. According to the Lai vocabulary, son is denoted by *fapa* and daughter is denoted by *fanu* in which the suffix *pa* stands for male and *nu* stands for female. Besides this, the self-address *Tan* resembles the Tedim self-address *Tang* meaning somewhat like 'gentleman'.

The traditional feature and the cultural pattern as practised by the Northern Zos suggest as if the Northern Zos directly inherited this ancient Chou culture. This may have led Rev. Dr. East to relate to his wife that the Chins were most probably from China. An analytical study into ancient Chinese culture reveals that the Northern Zo certainly still preserves not only Chou culture, but also adopted other cultures, too, foreign to Chou. The most striking elements can be given as follows:

(1) Dragon, the rain spirit, is termed *Lung*⁷ in Chinese, which in Tedim is *Lungzai*, and *Rung* or *Rong* in the Lai terminology.

(2) The Chinese deity *Pahsien*,⁸ represents eight immortal beings whereas the Zo term *Pasian* or *Pathian* represents divine beings.

(3) The Chinese cultural terminology contains words such as *Thai Ho*, *Kau Mang*, and so on.⁹ The name *Thai Ho* is found similar to what the *Ciimnuai* chronicle has it as

3. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese*, 46.

4. Latourette, *The Chinese*, 45.

5. Ibid., 531.

6. FitzGerald, *China*, 43-44.

7. Ibid., 112.

8. Latourette, *The Chinese*, 550.

9. Latouratte write, 'Clear evidence that the Son of Heaven was a corn king is found in the Book of Rites: Its days are *kia* and *yi*. Its divine rule is *Thai Ho*, and the attending spirit is *Kau Mang*'. (*China a Short Cultural History*, p.41).

Thang Ho. The Tedim legend portrays it like an historical person, born in Ciimnuai and grown up in Geeltui. the name *Kau Mang* in Tedim is also chief spirit.

Its chronicle records that when the Chou house transferred to Loyang in the east in 770 B.C. Ch'in was entrusted with the mission of maintaining order in the Chou's old capital at Hao.¹⁰ Ch'in's heritage of such Chou tradition and culture as the retainment of kingship as the 'Son of Heaven', the inheritance of the personal offering by the king to and worshipping the ancestors, the continued sacrifice to Tung Yo as Ch'in imperial cult, etc. points to Ch'in succession to Chou. The cultural affinity that the Chinese Ch'in and the Burmese Chin commonly shared seem to be supported by the recent discovery of an ancient tomb near Sian (Xian), 550 miles south of Beijing.¹¹ The tomb thus discovered in 1974 turns out to be a mass grave filled with the terra-cotta remains of ancient army. The terra-cotta warriors with their topknot (*Tuktum* in Tedim) slightly slanting and with their long jackets (*Tualpuan* in Tedim) demonstrate the Pagan Burman-type of Zo cultural fashion. The Pagan Burman word *sirpun*¹² for loin clothes even suggests its original pronunciation of the Tedim poetic term *silh-puan* meaning clothes in general. Sian, the site of the tomb, was once the seat of Chou house before its transfer to Loyang. Archaeologists suppose that the terra-cotta army was commissioned by Qin Shi Huangdi (Shi Huangti), the first Emperor who first unified ancient China into an empire in 221 B.C. Now it seems evident that what the western scholars spell Chou ethnically belonged to Ch'iang. The cultural feature of ancient China gives one the impression that Zo culture might have at one time influenced the civilization of central Asian world in like manner as Christianity had done to the western world and Buddhism to the Southeast Asia.

According to this ancient Chinese culture, it looks really as if the Tibeto-Burmans as represented by the Northern Zo came from the Shantung province of China. It is more interesting to determine the origin of Zo ruling house.

Origin of Zo House

According to tradition, the first known kingdom is Hsia founded by Yu in 2205 B.C. or 1989 B.C. in the south-west corner of the modern province of Shansi, in the angle of the Yellow river bend, which endured till 1557 B.C. (1766 BC). It was replaced by Shang kingdom at the same place, founded by T'ang which lasted until replaced by Chou in 1050 B.C. (1122 BC). Scholars recognise Shang as of historical kingdom. But they do not identify the people who represented Shang ethnology. The dominant view among the scholars is that many different ethnic groups and many centres of primitive cultures gradually mixed and emerged to produce the ancient Chinese civilization. No one could determine as yet whether the Peking Man who lived four hundred thousand years ago issued offsprings and left his descendants in China. Regarding Shang chronicle, FitzGerald states as follows:

The oracle bones which mention the names of kings give their relationship to their predecessors, a matter of importance in the ritual of ancestor worship. It has therefore been found that the twenty five kings identified covered sixteen generations starting with T'ang, the founder, as related in the historical tradition. The disparity between the numbers of reigns and generations is explained by the fact that the Shang practised fraternal succession, a fact surmised from the historical tradition and now confirmed by the oracle bone inscriptions.¹³

10. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 6:307.

11. "Treasures from a Chinese Tomb", by Shalon Begley with Jimi Forcrus in Sian, NEWS WEEK, Septempter 21, 1981, 42.

12. Luce, "Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th-13th Century A.D.", JBRS, 53.

13. FitzGerald, *China*, 24.

There is some mention relating to the origin of Chou royal house as reproduced below:

The origin of the Chou royal house is lost in the midst of time. Although the traditional historical system of the Chinese contains a Chou genealogy, no date can be assigned to the ancestors. The first ancestor was Hou Chi, literally translated 'Lord of Millet'. He appears to have been a cultural hero and agricultural deity rather than a tribal chief. The earliest plausible Chou ancestor was Tan Fu, the grandfather of Wen Wang. Prior to and during the time of Tan Fu the Chou people seem to have migrated to avoid pressure from strong neighbours, possibly nomadic people to the north. Under the leadership of Tan Fu they settled in the valley of Wei Ho in the present province of Shensi. ... The name Chou appears often in the oracle bone inscriptions of the great Shang kingdom, sometimes as friendly tributary neighbour and at others as a hostile one. Marriages were occasionally made between the two houses.¹⁴

Regarding the inscribed name Chou, FitzGerald gives his remark as thus: If the Marquis of Chou is the correct reading (which Prof. Yetts doubts) it would be a reference to one of the immediate forbears of the Chou kings Wen and Wu, who founded the dynasty.¹⁵

Now it is more imperative to study as to whether there was any historical king with the personal name Chou who founded the Chou royal house. What is most striking is the mention in the Chinese chronicle of an emperor with the personal name Yao. He is said to have reigned during the second half of the third millennium B.C.¹⁶ According to the orthodox tradition, after heaven and earth were separated and the world came into being, the universe was ruled by heavenly emperors who were in turn succeeded by such human rulers as Chuan Hsiu, K'u, Yao and Shan. Yao is told as an ideal and a perfect ruler who ruled through his own example by doing nothing and yet brought peace and prosperity to his kingdom.¹⁷ So tradition pictures him as a human ruler on the one hand, but relates him like a legendary one on the other. It is not certain whether Yu (the first known emperor) and Yao (the ideal emperor) were one and the same legendary figure. The title by which the Chou dynasty is designated is not after its founder, Wen nor Tan Fu nor even Hou Chi, the Lord of Millet. It is neither linked with either Yu or Yao. The genealogy of Chou ruling house is connected with Huang Ti, the yellow Emperor. Relating to this genealogy, FitzGerald makes the point clear in his statement as follows:

The pedigrees which derived the descent of the Chou princes from Huang Ti would be a fiction legitimizing the rule of the new comers who had whole-heartedly assimilated the Shang culture.¹⁸

The Chou conquerors, he further states, if not alien, were very loosely connected with Shang kingdom. He describes the Chou princes in the Shang period as follows:

On the other hand, the 'chief of the West', Wen, father of Wu, was one of the dukes of the place in the court of the Shang ruler, and received his title of Chief of the West, so that he might defend the western borders against the barbarians.¹⁹

14. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 4:30.

15. FitzGerald, *China*, 24.

16. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 4:30.

17. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese*, 34.

18. FitzGerald, *China*, 32.

19. *Ibid.*, 24.

All this statement points to the fact that Chou came to China from outside: they were new comers whose rule probably needed to be legitimized by linking their origin to the pedigrees of the people whom they conquered and ruled.

FitzGerald states that the Chou were formerly treated as immigrants from the west, who had brought with them from some ancient home in Chaldeans or Turkistan the first elements of the Chinese culture. To this he gives his view that whether the Chou were or were not immigrant folk from the west they did not bring to China the first Chinese civilization.²⁰ In connection with ancient culture, history records as follows:

Archaeological researches in central Asia have disclosed an extremely ancient seat of culture, east of the Caspian sea, and have suggested that there was the possibility of migration from Sinkiang, and possibly from further west, also of very early transmission of some arts forms from western Asia and southeastern Europe.²¹

Relating to this subject, FitzGerald says that there was definite evidence of cultural connection of the east with the west at what in China was an early date pointing to Chou age. He goes on to say that bronze socket celt, one of the characteristic implements of Central and Eastern Europe, occurs all over Europe, in Siberia, northern Burma, Cambodia, and in China both north and south. This distribution of material culture indicates that the socket celt reached China across Siberia, not south of the Himalaya or by sea.²² All this evidence tends to support Albright's theory that at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., the patriarchs had travelled and established international routes as merchants and were in charge of caravans.²³ According to one author, the caravan route linking east with west was leading from the 'silk route towns' of Yarkand and Kashgar (now Suoche and Kashi) in China's Xinjiang region, through the territory in which are today Bokhara and Samarkand by which silk was carried to the Byzantine from China during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.²⁴ These records strongly suggest that at least before or during the Chou age, an international route between western and eastern Asia had existed. Quaritch Wales describes this route as follows:

The route which was travelled by these innovations from the West was probably the one known in later time as the 'silk route'. This was in fact any of three routes leading across the steppes via Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), one north and two south of the desert Taklamakan. Adjoining Chinese Turkestan on the west is Russian Turkestan, and Anau on its south-western border is a well-known centre of early Bronze Age culture closely related to the Mesopotamian.²⁵

It has been mentioned that Mon-Khmer languages represent the oldest literary languages of South-east Asian peoples who came down from the ancient place in the south-west of China. Regarding how these languages reached there, Quaritch Wales gives his findings as follows:

20. *Ibid.*, 26-29.
21. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 4:301.
22. FitzGerald, *China*, 18
23. Herrmann, Siegried, *A History of ISRAEL IN Old Testament Time* (Philadelphia : First American edition by Fortress Press, 1975), 52. Footnote No.18.
24. "Tartary Visits", *ASIA WEEK*, September 14, 1986, 102.
25. H.G. Quaritch Wales, *The Mountain of god* (London : New Bond Street, 1953), 36.

There is every reason to suppose that, as soon as Sumerian civilization had taken shape, its influences began to radiate in all directions. The distances eastward were infinitely greater than south-westwards into India. ... Although at that early date difficulties in the way of a passage directly eastward through Tibet would have been insuperable, the steppe routes were open..... Although seemingly a long trek along the base of the Kunlun and down into western Szechwan, yet this route even today is more easily travelled than the one through the length of Hindustan and across the river trenches of Burma and offers in addition an unbroken continuity with the horse-and-felt cultural complex.²⁶

Further more, this historic pathway has witnessed the comings and goings of a great variety of turbulent ethnic groups - Huns, Huingnu, Uigur, Yueh-chi, Scythians, Tatar, Turki, and Mongols - several of which were undoubtedly non-Mongolian in origin and character. The fertile basins and bordering mountains of Szechwan were accessible to any of these shifting ethnic elements either through the Kokonor region or through Kansu and the Kunka Pass.

It seems probable that this earlier wave or waves of western influences did not penetrate through Kansu into Hwang Ho valley, the main movement evidently being south-westwards through western China: The western influences did not spread via eastern China, Instead of continuing eastwards through Kansu, then, these early Western influences for the most part turned southwards into Szechwan. ... Prof. Heine Geldern has shown good reason to believe that it reached South-East Asia and North-East India between 2500 and 1500 B.C.²⁷

Quaritch Wales has thus indicated the historical pathway through which ancient cultures were transferred from West of Asia to East.

It has become now more interesting to study how the Sumerian culture was brought to East of Asia. Quaritch Wales advances a theory that a new religion which he calls the cult of Earth originated in Mesopotamia was introduced to the Yellow River basin in the middle of the second millennium B.C., in very much the same abstract form it had in Mesopotamia, at least before the rise of Babylonia.²⁸ Regarding the transmission of the Earth cult to East, he states that the transfer was mainly one of ideas and abstractions, not carried by people who had ever seen the Tigris-Euphrates valley, or even Persia, but by various intermediaries.²⁹ He makes this statement based on the points of the lack of any Caucasian blood in the Chinese, the lack of linguistic relationship even limited to place names and special terms. "There was, of course", says he, "no mass transference of either cultures or peoples from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, or even of the Oxus and Jaxartes, direct to those of the Hwang Ho".³⁰ The process, he says, like all great human movements, was long and complicated. Yet he states that a number of the words of the Mon-Khmer are analogous to Sumerian.

It has also been said that the T'u chueh, probably belonging to the Topa tribes, derived their culture from Iranian and Aramacan sources. This record suggests that the

26. Ibid., 66.
 27. Ibid., 66-67.
 28. Ibid., 38.
 29. Ibid., 36.
 30. Ibid.

valley of the Oxus once represented the relaying centre of ancient cultures. According to Wales' view, the idea of the cult of Earth was transferred via Oxus of the Chinese Turkestan to East of Asia. One finds it difficult to conform to the theory that in ancient times ideas and abstractions were transferred through the medium of intermediaries, as it is being done today through the medium of books, radio, missionaries, and the like. No doubt the transfer of material culture could have been made through merchants, military movements on alien lands, and so forth. Relating to the transmission of ideas, F. Max Muller, often called the 'father of the history of religion' states that particularly in the history of human intellect, there existed the most intimate relationship between language, religion and nationality'.³¹ According to this insight, there is reason to assume that Zo culture may have come through some human waves. In contrast to his statement regarding the transfer of ideas in ancient time, Quaritch Wales mentions the possibility of the Western origin of the Lolo people as this:

An observer with practical knowledge of the region, discussing the possible Western origin of the Lolo people of the Chinese-Tibetan borderland, compares the routes north and south of Tibet in the passage I am about to quote.³²

This, the 'possible Western origin of the Lolo people', urges one to ask the question: Does the Lolo blood represent the Chinese blood that lacks the Caucasian blood?

To give another instance of history, what is most abominable to Yahweh (Jehovah) in the Old Testament tradition is the planting of any tree as an Asherah beside the altar of the Lord (Deut. 16:21). In the Genesis account, a tree in the Garden of Eden is depicted as the symbol of knowing good and evil. But no mention of it is found in the Exodus account of the Hebrew tradition. This certainly indicates that the tree cult and the earth cult (rock cult) were separate entities with different historical background. Relating to tree cult, E.B. Havell mentions the Aryan history in which the Aryans who spoke a language having a common root with English and Sanskrit and who gave Persia the Avesta and to India the Vedas, appeared on the highland of Persia and Mesopotamia about 3000 B.C.³³ About 1746 B.C. after Babylon had been stormed and sacked by the Hittites from Anatolia, the Aryan chief Gandash swooped down from the mountains to the east of the city and founded a dynasty which lasted for six centuries. About 1400 B.C., Havell says, other Aryan chieftains had founded their Himalayas in North-West Mesopotamia on the Taurus mountain ranges and for a time dominated Assyria.

Although the Indian source does not mention these Aryan migrations, the first Aryavarta is mentioned in the mythological history of Iran as the country lying between the sources of Oxus and Jaxartes. Havell argues that archaeological research seems to show that in the second millennium B.C. there was a continuous current of Vedic or Aryan religious thought running from the Himalayas to the mountains of Asia Minor and spreading over the Mesopotamia of Babylonian.³⁴ So it is not certain whether the Cannanites adopted this Aryan culture or whether a mere coincidence, the Cannanite term Asherah bears almost an identical character with the Aryan term Asharam, the forest cult.³⁵

31. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 15:629.

32. *Ibid.*, 66.

33. Havell, *A History of India*, 1.

34. *Ibid.*, 12.

35. *Ibid.*, 28.

Aryan cultural influences were greatly felt in South-East Asia in general and in India and Burma in particular. These Aryan cultures came in not through intermediaries, but with the people. These are the evidences which inevitably convince one to believe that Zo culture, too, would have come to East with the people. If this was the history, then the Tibeto-Burman tribes in Ladakh are to be considered as those who were left behind there in their eastward movement. This would also involve that Oksa tlang, a Chin legendary place name, could have been one and the same place name with Oxus in history. It has been mentioned that one of the three known 'silk routes' leading across the steppes via Chinese Turkestan (now Sinkiang) is to the north of Taklamakan. The Chinese archaeological work in the Uighur region has recently unearthed a 3000 year-old tomb which preserves 50 mummies encased in stone coffins.³⁶ The news of this find says that unlike Chinese the bodies have high noses, low cheekbones and blond or brown hairs done up in a bun. This new find seems to verify the historicity of the Chinese chronicle that the Ch'iang people had been in the extremity of northwest China since about 1400 B.C. These mummies purport ancient Ch'iang who entered into ancient China to have built Zo cultural empire.

The statement that the T'u chueh (To chueh) derived their culture from the Iranian and Aramaean sources suggests whether the Aramaean and the Ch'iang had some historical relation. A new Semitic wave known as Amorites came from the highlands of Iran (Persia), what later became Armenia and Asia Minor, down into the plains of Mesopotamia and the cultivated land of Syria and Palestine. They were called 'mountain people' who began to emerge about the middle of the second millennium B.C.³⁷ This historical picture is supported by another statement that Upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria contained a population akin to Israel ancestors in the middle Bronze Age and for centuries before.³⁸ Now it is found that both peoples (Aramaean and Ch'iang) were contemporary at period of time. Both were shepherd and wandering tribes, and were also jealous worshippers of mountains. Where the Aramaeans worshipped the mountain of God represented by Sinai or Horeb, the Ch'iang worshipped the 'sacred mountain' Tai Shan in the Far East. All this strongly suggests whether the Aramaeans and the Ch'iang were of the same stock, known to different places with different names.

Quaritch Wales says that there was at a certain time some undoubted influence on the Chinese civilization from the West and subsequently there were also contacts with later Babylonian culture.³⁹ According to him, the effective influence from the West reached China about the middle of the second millennium B.C. and this influence mainly in respect of idea may have been instrumental to the founding of Shang capital at Anyang. What came from the West was the Megalithic culture of which what Quaritch Wales calls Old Megalithic, when reached Szechwan, was carried southwards with the great movements of the peoples of Mongoloid Mon-Khmer and Malayo-Polynesian speaking tribes, following the greatest river highways of the Mekong, Salween and Irrawaddy.

36. *NAB/AP*, September 2, 1986, Bul.3, p.15. (The discovered mummies resemble Chin on some points. (1) It is not certainly known how the hairs of the mummies are 'done up in a bun'. It looks as if the hairs are knotted in the same pattern as the Topa tribes are doing over their nape. (2) Tattooing is still practised in some areas in the Southern Chin State in the same practice as the mummies are doing. (3) The Chins who claim nobility still practise the custom of burying their dead in their family vault. (4) Chin ancient tombs were made in such a pattern that the dead bodies were encased in a coffin-like grave made with slabs of stone lined up around it in a rectangular shape like the one used by the Christians.

37. Siegfried, *A History of ISRAEL in old Testament Time*, 20.

38. John Bright, *History of Israel*, (Philadelphia : Westminster Press, 1972, 1981), 78.

39. Wales, *The mountain of God*, 35.

He distinguishes the Old Megalith by the characteristic feature of menhirs typified by the Jokhang Temple at Lhasa and the Younger by the pattern of stone cist-graves, dolmen-like slabgraves, stone sarcophagi and vats.⁴⁰ He agrees with Heine Geldern's assumption that the Young Megalithic culture reached South-East Asia not before the seventh century B.C. According to what is practised in Northern Chin Hills, Zo culture would have belonged to the Younger Megalithic culture and is basically mountain cult. Relating to the rite of sacrifice to mountain, one piece of record is worth-while to be mentioned as follows:

and the most important of these was the T'ai Shan or eastern peak. It was here that Emperor Wu offered the Fong and Shan sacrifices to Heaven and Earth respectively, at the summit and foot of the mountain. Despite the existence of a Chinese legend claiming high antiquity for these rites, the great French sinologist Edouard Chavannes, who made a thorough study of the ritual as described in the text, came to the conclusion that they were for the first time performed by Emperor Wu in 110 B.C.⁴¹

If this dating of Chou reign is to be recognized as true history, then the contrast between the two dates - eleventh century and second century, must be too great. This point calls for a further study of Chou chronology. According to the conventional understanding of Chinese history, the establishment of Chou dynasty is recognized as generally at 1050 B.C. replacing the Shang with whom the Chou lived together before, and Wu Wang is regarded as the founder of Chou dynasty. In the true sense of Zo tradition, Zo culture is signified by the ethical element that it contains. Heaven was displeased with the Chou prince who ruled unjustly. Who brought this ethical element to China? or was this moral code a spontaneous development out of the earth cult? In regard to this, Quaritch Wales states as mentioned below:

When the Chous conquered the Shang a new chief deity was adopted; T'ien, who was later regarded as Heaven. As Creel says, 'the deity Heaven is absolutely foreign to Shang culture'. Nor was T'ien the equivalent of Heaven is absolutely foreign to Shang culture'. The introduction of a sky god at this time seems quite contrary to what would be expected of Chinese religious thought, specialized as it was in the direction of ancestor worship.⁴²

And, again; Taoism is a philosophical system developed in China. The concept is said to have been formulated by the sage Lao-tzu in the sixth century B.C.⁴³ and is attributed to him the authorship of *Tao Te Ching*, the best known classic of Taoist doctrine. FitzGerald argues that Lao-tzu could not be regarded as an historical figure, nor his supposed date (circa 590 BC) as any thing but a fiction. He contends that the authorship of *Tao Te Ching* was unknown, and the date of the book was certainly not earlier than the third century, about 240 B.C.⁴⁴

This ancient Chinese cultural context as already mentioned suggests that the Chou might have consisted of at least two strata of cultural groups which some scholars describes as 'early Chou' and 'later Chou'. In that even, the later Chou might have been represented by the Topa group bringing with them the 'ethical element'. This group may have also been the Chous who gave the 'eastern peak' the deity YO. Their arrival at the Wei river valley may have been not earlier than the third century B.C. Regarding this point, a reconstruction of Zo history by a group of Zo people deserves to be mentioned here.

40. Ibid., 71.

41. Ibid., 71.

42. Ibid., 40.

43. FitzGerald, China, 78.

44. Ibid., 77-78.

A group of Kuki-Chin living in Manipur of India claim that they were the Nomadic tribes of Semitic speaking people and that their name Kuki was derived from its original form *Kuchi* meaning wandering people.⁴⁵ They contend that they belonged to the Kaifung Jews of China. They link their trace to the Old Testament world. According to them, in 722 BC, the Israelite tribes living in Samaria were led captive by King Shalmanezar of Assyria. The half-tribe of Manasseh were brought to Halah and the river Gozan, and in the cities of Medes (IChron. 5:26). In 457 BC they were under the rule of Medes and Persia during the reign of King Darius and Syrus. In BC 331, Alexander defeated Darius, the Persian monarch, at Arbella (Erbill) and annexed Afghanistan. Following the Greek expansion of political influence, they say, the Persian Jews, too, made their migration to Afghanistan from which they reached Tibet through Hindukush. According to this history, the Kuki-Chin would have reached Tibeto-China before the Christian era. The Kuki-Chins who openly claim their ethnical relation to the Jews are belonging to the Topa group of Zo people. Whether they were related with the Chinese Jews or not, their reconstruction of 'history appears to coincide with what Edouard Chavannes gives as the chronology of Chou reign in China.

The close similarity between the Hebrew tradition and the Y'wa tradition of Karen seems to have provoked the thought of some early missionaries and has led them to trace the origin of the Y'wa religion. The search with no convincing evidence probably ended in mystery. They were diverse in giving opinions regarding the religion. Some including Rev. Mason were thinking that the Karen might be found to be the lost tribe of Israel or, if not actually descended from Abraham, they might have received instructions from colonies of Jews, who were supposed to have spread in the East in ancient times.⁴⁶ Rev. Harry Ignatius Marshall with reference to some writings on the subject admits that the original religion of China was somewhat akin to the Jehovah (now spelled Yahweh) of the Hebrews. He was thus aware of any possible relation to such an ancient belief and gives the comment on it as follows:

However, the story of creation among these people has such a marked parallelism with the Hebrew story that, even though its origin has not been traced, we find it difficult to avoid the suspicion that it came from an Hebraic source, being carried by some wandering story-teller an unknown missionary only to become incorporated into the tribal belief of the Karen, along with their primitive mythology.⁴⁷

Some scholars have suggested that Christian missionaries, travelling to the orient during the early centuries of Christian era, transmitted the creation story to the Karen. Rev. Marshall, however, argues that the story was universally known among the Red Karen (now called Kaya), too, who had been at least affected by outside influence only in recent times. He observes that the story contains no reference to the life or teachings of Christ to any real Messianic hope, but suggests only the 'Old Testament materials' such as the creation, fall, flood, and Tower of Babel.⁴⁸ Therefore, he says, the Karen account of tradition itself eliminates the view that the creation story was transmitted through some early missionaries.

45. A Memorandum submitted to 'The Jewish Agency' at Bombay, India, by 'The Manipur Jewish Organization' for the recognition and to safe-guard the rights of every one of the tribal Jews of Manipur, August 15, 1972, Bualzang in Manipur State of India.

46. Ignatius, *The Karen People*. 10

47. Ibid., 12.

48. Ibid., 11.

Some authors, again, suppose that the Karen got their tradition through an acquaintance with the Jewish colonies in China or even with the Nestorian tablet at Sin-an-fu.⁴⁹ Relating to Jewish movements, there is mention in the Chinese record of the Jewish settlement at K'ai-feng-fu, the capital of Honan in the valley of Yellow river. These Jews are believed to have come there when it was the capital of China under Sung in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.⁵⁰ The record says that the K'ai-feng Jews, though poor and diminishing, still kept their language, and had a synagogue with a Rabbi who could read Hebrew. After his death, the community disintegrated, the synagogue ruined, and they marched into the Chinese population. And eventually they have lost their identity and no longer form a separate community. Rev. Marshall is of the view that the Jewish immigrants were so small to be able to exert the slightest influence on their surrounding, but, on the contrary, had been completely sinicized that they were almost extinct.⁵¹

Zo Ethnology

This study finds that the Tibeto-Burmans were descended from the ancient Ch'iang coming to China from the West in about the middle of the second millennium B.C. What have been mentioned relating to the origin of Zo royal house show that a group of Ch'iang people represented by a patriarchal line of descent with the name Zo (Chou in former spelling, but now Zhao in Chinese) appeared in China, bringing with them from 'some ancient home of Chaldeans' the prevailing culture of the time. The tradition and culture that these Zo people brought of East are reflected in and typified by the tradition and culture that the Tibeto-Burman Chin practises today.

Zo primal tribes were perhaps, denominated into numerous groups bearing various names of which some were their own names. These are Zo (Sho, Cho, Yo, etc.), Lai, Khu and Kham. So it is interesting for student of Zo culture to explore the hidden past in which the names were handed down. The Tedim speakers who call their chief Topa persistently claim that the term Zo was the racial name of the Kuki-Chin people. K.A. Khup Za Thang draws the genealogical tree of Zo people with Zo as the Progenitor. According to that genealogical table, Zo descendants have now been twenty seven generations. Zo is thus assumed to be Chin Progenitor. There are myths and legends relating to Zo origin from mythical sources. A standing rock exalting to the sky about two hundred feet is named Lailun. The chronicle of Sunthla village near Falam within the area of which the rock is situated claims that Lailun Rock issued the first man and woman of mankind and Zo people were first propagated from there.⁵² Some even suppose that the racial name LAI was probably originated in reference to the name of the Rock, Lailun. A folksong in Tedim is composed depicting the origin of mankind from cave,⁵³ that is *Khul* in Tedim. The folk song in Tedim is as this:

*Ei teng khawlkhawm a tuam om lo,
Khul a pian in kilel le 'ng
Tun sung khata piang hi ngeingei e,
Tun sung khata piang hi ngeingei,
Suahpih sanggam laigui zawngkhawm hi ngei ngei e.*

49. Ibid., 10.

50. FitzGerald, *China*, 9-10.

51. Ignatius, *The Karen People*, 11.

52. East, Buram Manuscript, dated Thursday April 1, 1909.

53. The Ciimnuai chronicle also says that the first couple of mankind was Thung Thu (the man) and Nem Niang (the woman) who sprang out from a hole. The hole is identified as that below the present Saizang village near Old Ciimnuai. (Personal interview with Khan Nen Pau, Captain retired, of Saizang village, 1984)

*[All of us together,
Being aliens never,
Being born at Khul together,
Are born of a single mother.*

*Being born of a single mother,
We are brothers all together,
Joined by navel cord forever.]*

And, again, the origin myth of Ruavan in Hakha area says that the mountain near their village issued the first man and woman of mankind.⁵⁴ So they are literally mountain people. So according to tradition, Chin progenitors were represented by mountain, rock, and cave. What these origin myths commonly say is that mankind were descended from a couple of man and woman.

Ch'iang tradition contains another system of cosmogony that refers the origin of mankind and earthly ruler to heaven. For instance, the Sihzang source of Ciimnuai tradition relates that 'a gourd fell from the heavens and bursting with the fall, emitted a man and a woman who became the Chin Adam and Eve'.⁵⁵ According to the Chinese tradition, too, after heaven and earth were separated and the world came into being, the universe was ruled by the Twelve Emperors of Heaven. The Tibetan source also relates that in the legendary age, the first Tibetan king were from heaven.⁵⁶ Strange enough to these theories, the origin myth from egg is found elsewhere in the Tibeto-Burman traditions. For instance, one source derives Ch'iang origin from the radiant gods of heaven or from the primordial egg to which other legends trace the descent of mankind.⁵⁷ The Chou origin myth, too, refers the origin of the founder of Chou royal house to the egg-myth.⁵⁸ The same legend is commonly told in the clan chronicles of the Zahau, the Guite and the Asho.⁵⁹ This study contends that the origin from Solar Race or primordial egg was copied later to legitimize the authority of the ruling class.

Now the study of Zo ethnology has revealed three main sources of origin to which most of Zo origin myths refer. These are sky or heaven, sun-egg and natural objects like rock, cave and mountains. It has been said that no Zo (Chou) prince bears the personal name Chou or Zo or Sho and the like, though Chou (Zo) is assumed to have been Chin ancestor. So it is of interest to study how the word Chou or Zo was handed down as racial name.

54. *Burma Manuscript*, dated March 31, 1909. "I almost hesitate even to tell you my dear, but as I am chronicling all discoveries, I make in this land of unknown mysteries, you will have the first refusal. Here is what I found: I was led by the Chief and village Elders to a huge rock, and traditions that have come down through the ages were now revealed to me. They showed the very spot in this large rock from which the first man and the first woman in the world issued! So now, my dear, I have according to tradition, actually been in 'Paradise lost', I have some difficulty in accepting their story as accurate, because in Ruavan village I saw a big mountain from which they tell me issued the first man and woman. I now leave to you the choice of places, but to me the story is very interesting as it reveals a knowledge, though faulty, of the first human couple. The real name of the Chins is: 'Li Mi' (Central people) and they claim that around them centres the earthly history of mankind; and so it would be strange if the tradition of creation of the first man and woman should not be taken place among them".

55. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:127.

56. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 48f.

57. *Ibid.*, 46.

58. The ancestress of Shang became pregnant by swallowing the egg of the dark bird, the Swallow; the ancestress of Chou family was conceived by stepping into the tract of a giant; although her son Hou Chi (Lord of Millet) was abandoned at a certain desolate place, he grew up under the care of animals and birds and became the founder of Chou house. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* {Macropaedia} 6:303).

59. See Appendix -IV

Chin-Hills, now Chin State, is usually referred to as *Zo-gam* (or *Zo-ram*) where both *gam* and *ram* mean country. According to the present usage of the term, *Zo-gam* has dual meaning. In a sense it means the country inhabited by the Zo people and in another sense it means mountain country. But most usually, *Zo-gam* is referred in identifying the mountains with the people inhabiting it. In that sense Zo is associated with native sense.

According to tradition, a mountaineous country is classified into three distinct parts. These are the 'zo part', the 'sim part' and the 'lai part' where *zo* refers to the highest part, *sim* refers to the lower part and *lai* refers to the middle or central part. The 'zo part' is geographically characterized by such climatic conditions as cold, wet or damp, usually covered with cloud in rainy season, and also naturally featured with evergreen forest mixed with pine tree, scrub oak, rhododendron, and so on. F.K. Lehman defines this 'zo nature' and 'cold'.⁶⁰ This cultural practice points to the fact that *Zo* denotes the highest part of mountains, essentially mountaintop. So *zo* denotes mountain.

Based on the interpretation of the term by the Hakha source, Lehman understands the cultural meaning of *zo* in the light of this geographical sense alone. He interprets the idea of *zo* in contrast to *vai* in which *vai* stands for the Burman civilization and *zo* expresses the Chin view of being backward and uncultivated in relation to civilization.⁶¹ Thus he derives that Chin were Zomi because they lacked the civilization of the Burmans.⁶² He further states that the Hakha villagers resented the term *zo* having such an idea of backwardness and adopted *Lai* for their name.⁶³ Chin ritual prayer uses to say "Give us the goods of the *zo* country and the goods of the *vai* country". According to Lehman, the term *vai* here stands for civilization-the place from which greater quantity and diversity of things to be had. *Vai* thus refers mainly to the plain civilization, the civilization of the Burmans. This erroneous interpretation needs to be set right on the original traditional line of concept. In so doing the *Lai* vocabulary itself may clarify the fact. The English literary, 'crucifixion on the cross' is translated into *Lai* as *vai lam tah nak*. Relating to the origin of this *Lai* description for killing by crucifixion on the cross, Rev. Dr. East, one of the first missionaries in Chin Hills, points out that the Zos had adopted and used the word *vai* in reference to the Indian method of killing their captives by crucifixion on the cross.⁶⁴ In the cultural history of Tedim, the term *vai* in its ethnic sense had always been used in association with the country of India and the Indians as well.⁶⁵ Now it has been certain that the Northern Zo word *vai* was adopted and used referring to India and the Indians as well in origin. But there is no doubt that the term was later used by the *Lai* speakers to describe what is of foreign.⁶⁶ *Zo-vai-lang-tlang*⁶⁷ (which Lehman writes *zo-vai- lam-tlang*), the name given to a mountain ridge about twelve miles west of Sakta village in the present Hakha township, gives the evidence of this Zo tradition. The word *lang* means revealing or being revealed and other similar sense. So the ridge was probably given the name having the meaning where the ridge overlooks all the countries of Chin (Zo) and India (Vai). To the founders of Chin Hills, the country of Zo and the country of Vai may have appeared as all the world under heaven. In that sense the name of the ridge may have the idea in which the ridge overlooks all under heaven.

60. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 54.

61. Ibid. 30.

62. Ibid., 55.

63. Ibid., 30.

64. Appendix - VII

65. Ibid.

66. In Hakha vocabulary, 'migrated' is described as *a vai cang*.

67. Map Reference, PC-6733; 8840 ft high.

All this evidence clarifies the fact that *vai* had never in its original sense referred to the Burmans nor to the plain civilization. At the same time, Zo had never in tradition expressed the view of being backward in contrast to foreign civilization. The 'Chin view' of zo and *vai* could very well have been of local development possibly in the present Hills. The study of Zo ethnology still needs be made in relation to another pattern of cultural context.

According to the Tedim pattern of Zo language, *taang* (*tlang*, *taung*) essentially refers to mountain ridge or mountain range. This term is taken by the Tedims for one's self-address usually in poem with reference to the dignity of men. When a man says "*Taang hi-ing*" meaning 'I am *taang*', he is asserting his own manhood with the sense of dignity likened to the physical image of mountain.⁶⁸ To put it in the style of Dr. Stein's phrase, it is the self-assertion 'at the center of his world and has a war-like victorious air frequently expressed by the idea of height, loftiness or elevation and might',⁶⁹ which is symbolized by mountain; he himself is likened to mountain. Relating to this culture, an anonymous author writes in honour of the Taungpulu Kaba-Aye Sayadaw on the event of the Sayadaw's death, saying, "When a man of might and magnitude, especially one who is held in immense affection and esteem by his dependants or followers, passes away the usual saying in Burmese is 'The Great Golden Mountain has dropped and fallen'.⁷⁰ In short, *taang* is thus used as somewhat like gentleman. Pum Za Kham, a well-known poet in Tedim area, was once awarded a double-barrel gun. He was so pleased and too happy with the award that he composed a song in which he compares the double barrel gun with *lia* and *taang* meaning somewhat like a couple of two lovers or of a maid and a lad or of a lady and a gentleman. Corresponding to one's identification of himself with mountain, the individual members of the tribal society are likened to and identified as the individual mountains. Thus the public of the society is referred to as *Taangpi-Taangta* in Tedim, representing the individual member of the tribes as a whole exclusive of the *lia*, the female members who had no say in the public affairs. In the political sense, the term *Taangpi-Taangta* represents the voting members of the community in general. The same term is also used to denote millet, a traditional crop which can be grown only in a mountainous region. The crop is traditionally considered and treated like a sacred thing. There are prescribed taboos and restrictions to be strictly observed in the deal with it. The title given to Hou Chi, 'Lord of Millet' may be equivalent to *Taang Mang* in Tedim. It lies beyond one's comprehension to give opinion as to why *taang*, the word for mountain, is homologous with that of millet.

Whatever the root may have been, what is found clear from this study is that *taang* represents mountain ridge and *zo* refers to the highest part of the mountain, usually covered with evergreen forest. While *taang* stands for the physical image of mountain,

68. Ngulh Khai of Suangpi in Tedim township composed a song in which he depicts his indignant feeling. The song sings thus :

Sangmang ka kap tun tom ci e,
Gual in a lel cingsak e.
Ka pham zonga taang hi veng e,
Lungtup tun 'siang ka tutsa aw,
Zua mun ka hil ding hi e.

[People are speaking ill of the king beast
 that I shot as being deformed.
 But I being the mountain,
 would tell my dead father of what I had
 brought to my mother in great delight.]

69. Stein, *Tibetian Civilization*, 204.

70. *The Working People's Daily*, June 25, 1986.

zo denotes the climatic condition similar to the one in Exodus tradition which says "And Moses entered the cloud, and went up on the mountain (24:18)". In other words, where *taang* denotes the physical appearance of mountain, zo denotes the cultural essence of mountain, not in the sense of backwardness, but rather in the sense associated with sacredness. Perhaps, zo denotes the mountain cult.

A.G. Grierson, the first author on Chin languages, states "The name is not used by the tribes themselves, who use titles such as Zo or Yo or Sho". These words appear like the variant forms of a single root. J.H. Cope was the scholar who gave the Northern Zo a written language in which the alphabet Y is found nowhere, because it is pronounced Z. For instance, *ya*, the number hundred, is pronounced *za* in Zo. A critical study reveals that the two sorts, Zo and Yo, are distinguished though not clearly separated. The Old Burmese *yo* as in Pegu Yoma, is akin to Tung Yo in ancient Chinese. Therefore the Y character suggests its original form. In the case of Zo, Jo and Sho, the words produce the same sound.

There are traditions in which Z or J is being used in its distinctive character. The most unique feature is evident in the Tibetan source where monkey represents the ancestor and rock represents the ancestress. At the same time the Stone Monument at Lhasa symbolizes the Tibetan nationality or genealogy called Jokhang in their word. So the Tibetan Progenitor is Rock called Jo. And, again, the stone tablet, a block five feet long by two feet wide is termed *tchou* in Chinese, representing divinity.⁷¹ There is no direct mention of rock or stone in the Chin source, with the name Zo or the like. It is not known whether the original name of rock was applied to mountain top which is rocky in nature. All this evidence in traditions though meager but suggestive may lead one to conclude that Zo is Rock, the Tibeto- Burman Progenitor. So the racial name Zomi can also be interpreted as analogous with the descendants of Rock in the same tradition as the racial name Sak (Thet) was derived from Solar Race. The descent from Zo is strongly suggested by the poetic form of Zo language in which father is referred to as *Pa-zua*⁷² (*Pa-zwa*) or *Zua-pa*. The Tibetan term *Pha-zo*⁷³ is more descriptive in the identification of father probably with rock. Since the Northern Zo speech pronounces Z for Y, the term *Zua-pa* or *Pha-zo* seems to have referred to what the Karen source tells of Y'WA, the Father of human race.⁷⁴ Based on what have already been mentioned, it may be concluded that the ethnology of Zo or Yo⁷⁵ was related to the cult of rock or mountain and that the word was handed down as the symbol of ancestral belief.

71. Wales, *The Mountain of God*, 47.

72. One stanza of the ritual songs of Ton Feast says as this :

Ka laknuai a Sawmsial aw e.

Pa-zua huang khatlsa aw e.

Ka Sunginn a beemtaang aw e.

Nu tun sung dipsa aw e.

[The mithuns underneath my house,

Are the breedings of my father.

The granary in my house

Are the harvest of my mother.]

73. In Tibetan terminology, *Zo bo* (*Zo bu*), with its muscular affix *bo* denotes Lord; so also *Zo mo*, with its feminine affix *mo*, means a female Zo. (*Oxford English Dictionary*, "Tibetan") A Tibetan child sometimes calls his father *Pha-zo* or *pha-jo*. (*Tibetan Civilization*, p.95).

74. Ignatius, *The Karen People*, 213.

75. The Tedims apply their common name Zo to a particular tribe and Carey and Tuck spell it as Yo.

The Concept of Zo

The dynastic title CHOU in its former pronunciation and spelling has already been pointed out as of the same term with Zhao in Chinese, Zo in Northern Chin, Cho in Kanpetlet, Sho in plains-Chin, Yaw and Saw in Yawdwin (Myittha valley). According to evidences available so far, the word spoken and spelt Zo or Jo seems to be the proper name that was preserved in its slightly varied forms by the people after they split up into tribal groups. In certain tradition, the name was preserved like a religious symbol and in some it was taken as an ideal image. Tibet represented the confluence of great religions and cultures of the ancient world, of which Zo seems to have been the oldest known one. Under the shade of Bonism and Buddhism, the name is still preserved like a folk-element. The process of Tibetan cultural development indicates that Zo was replaced by Bon which was again annexed by Buddhism beginning from the sixth century A.D. Buddhism seems to have exerted a great influence upon the former religions, particularly Zo which then ceased to exist as a living faith, in the same way as the Indo-Aryan Buddhism did in Central Burma. Dr. R.A. Stein gives this faded belief the name "Name-less Religion"⁷⁶ which the western scholars refer to as 'primitive'. For the Tibetan historians everything that is not Buddhism is barbarous and demonic in content in the same idea as some Chin Christians are doing to Zo tradition and culture. Yet they still retain the vital distinction between what is Zo and what is Buddhism. This fact is discernable in the vocabularies they employ in describing Tibetan culture. Tibetan terminology contains two significant terms: *Mi-Cho* and *Iha-Cho* in which *Mi* denotes man, *Iha* denotes gods and *Cho* denotes religion.⁷⁷ So the term *Mi-Cho* stands for the 'Religion of man' and *Iha-Cho* stands for the 'Religion of gods'. Where *Iha-Cho*, Stein says, refers to Bon and Buddhism, *Mi-Cho* refers to folklore.⁷⁸ Scholar Dr. Stein is so critical in observing the Tibetan civilization relating to Budhism, when he says as follows:

We learn from a quite early chronicle that, when the translation of Buddhism works had been completed under King Trihisong Detsem, the minister Go said, 'You have spread the religion of gods (Buddhism). Now, what will you give men, as narrations of the religion of men.'⁷⁹

Dr. Stein also states that what have been handed down under the name *Mi-Cho* are merely wisecracks told by the old men of the clan and always uttered in a poetic style characterized by the use of metaphors and proverbial sayings. Stein supposes that the two great religions, Bon and Buddhism, incorporated the proper religious elements of *Mi-Cho* in their respective systems, leaving the 'religion of man' nothing but the morality.⁸⁰ *Cho* in the Tibetan sense also has the meaning of 'custom' in the same exact sense as Zo culture has to the Zo people. *Mi-Cho* even suggests the racial name CHO by which the Zos in Kanpetlet area designate themselves and also *Mi-Zo* by which the Lusheis call themselves. All this cultural element may lead one to assume that the term Zo had once represented a deity of worship.

76. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 165.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., 192.

80. Ibid., 193.

Dr. Stein makes mention of another Tibetan myth as relating that the Mesang, 'King-of-Milk', an ox headed-man born from the union of man and a cow, intervened in a fight between a god and a demon on the former's side, and as a reward was granted the sending of a celestial son to reign on earth.⁸¹ Dr. Stein thus remarks, "So no wonder that a seventeenth century work describes the legendary account of Tibetans' ancestry as 'religion of men' (Mi-Cho)". Therefore, it is certain that the Tibetans claim their ethnic descent from CHO. Hence their genealogy, Jokhang at Lhasa, their capital. But the celestial son sent down from heaven is not told as Cho or Jo, but as Nyatri Tsenpo on the sacred mountain Yarlha Shampo which was hallowed by his descent there. Regardless of its irregularity, this Tibetan source of myth seems to prelate something that has to do with some divine revelation on mountain. This recalls the story of divine movement on the mountain T'ai Shan. In connection with the diviness of Tung Yo, J. Dun Li states as follows:

Two years after the unification, Shih Huang Ti went to T'ai Shan, the Sacred mountain of Shantung, where he officially received the Mandate of Heaven to rule all that is on earth.⁸²

The cultural account of Tung Yo as given by Kenneth Scott Latourette deserves to be mentioned here as this:

As the eastern most of the five, it(Tung Yo) was believed to control the springs of life, to govern man's fate on earth and to rule the souls of men after death. For a time in its history T'ai Shan was regarded as an official messenger to T'ien through whom the Emperor offered the special sacrifice, *feng*. As the years passed, its functions were modified yet repeatedly it was sacrificed to by Emperors and given honorary titles. Important events such as the birth of a son, and the choice of a heir to the throne, were officially announced to it. T'ai Shan was by no means entirely or even chiefly a divinity revered by the State; the spirit or god of T'ai Shan had wide popularity with the masses.⁸³

The cultural histories of both Tibet and China have now suggested that the word *cho* in Tibetan and *Tchou* in Chinese symbolize the cult of rock and *Yo* in Chinese represented the deity of mountain. The Chinese term Tung Yo means 'sacred'. It is very likely that the two cults were parallelly and separately handed down. Yet they were associated with each other probably in origin and in existence. So it is good to study how the two deities were related and believed.

Based on some writings on the Chinese cultural history by western scholars, can the traditional concept of Chou ruling house be mentioned in brief. Chou king was known as the Son of Heaven who alone could legitimately bear the title of Wang (King).⁸⁴ The Son of Heaven, that is Chou king, was in theory the Supreme Lord of the Land, T'ien Hsia, the world under heaven. Above the Chou king who was not a God T'ien (Heaven), the supreme Ancestor; and the earthly sovereign was but his deputy, who as an adopted son had received the Mandate of Heaven by virtue of which he ruled over the earth.⁸⁵

81. Ibid., 193. "Th Mi-cho was the sign of a king's good Government."

82. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese*, 99.

83. Latourette, *The Chinese*, 535.

84. Fitzgerald, *China*, 75f.

85. Ibid.

The Son of Heaven whom the Chou monarch represents was the source of all authority. His vassals, the feudal lords, owed him homage and offered him certain articles as tribute. He alone had the legitimate right to invest new feudal lord with the fief in the same way as the medieval kings of Europe were anointed by the Pope of Rome, legitimizing them as rulers in the Holy Roman Empire. Until he gave his recognition, a newly created state could not have legal existence.⁸⁶

The Sacred mountain, Tung Yo or Yo, on the other hand, represents the object of the royal sacrifice. The primary function of the Chou prince was the offering of the ancestral sacrifice personally made to the deity Yo. So tradition was as such that Chou, the dynastic title, was analogous or rather identified with Yo, the 'Sacred being'. Chou monarch was, therefore, identified with the mountain Yo in religious conception. The Chou king was thus regarded and revered as 'sacred being' to which one-tenth of the harvest was offered also in religious sense.⁸⁷ So a Chou prince was a priest-king as well. Chou dynasty was probably constituted in identification with the mountain Yo. There exists a mysterious relationship between the sacred mountain and the dynasty in which the mountain symbolizes the deity of heaven and the dynasty represents the heavenly sonship.

According to ancient cosmogony, mountaintop represents the 'bond of heaven and earth'⁸⁸ or the cosmic centre of the universe. In the same idea, the Chou monarch was viewed as embodying the heavenly and the earthly powers. This means that the heavenly power and the earthly power were symbolized by and embodied in the person of Chou king. As the Son of Heaven, the concept of Chou prince was again associated with the foundation of moral code. FitzGerald states, "The monarchy was accepted as the natural vehicle of sovereignty".⁸⁹ Between the king and the powers of nature, there existed a close and vital relationship. The fortunes of men depend upon the balance of forces, beneficent as long as they acted in harmony,⁹⁰ but destructive once that balance was deranged. The king as the Son of Heaven was the instrument by which this balance was maintained. His duty was to perform the sacrifices at appropriate times and established the relationship between man and Heaven. This deity stood in a peculiar relation to the king who alone had the right to perform sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. The royal function of the king was to conciliate the forces of nature and so made the sacrifices effective. Thus the worship of Heaven and Earth was the prerogative of the Son of Heaven; the princes of the feudal states had no right to perform these sacrifices unless authorized.⁹¹

As the moral foundation of the cultural Empire, the Son of Heaven could not fulfil his function unless his moral nature was pure and his conduct above reproach. Heaven could not be served by a tyrant, the sacrifice of such a ruler would be of no avail, the divine harmony would be upset, and would manifest the wrath of Heaven.⁹² The wrath

86. Ibid.

87. Dun Li, *The Ageless Chinese*, 47.

88. Wale, *The Mountain Of God*, 40-41.

89. FitzGerald, *China*, 75.

90. Ibid., 76ff.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid., 37.

of Heaven caused by the evil conduct on the part of the king was manifested by warnings and catastrophes. The culminating punishment of a ruler's ill-conduct was the withdrawal of the mandate of Heaven, and the fall of his dynasty to make way to another family. It was his virtue that was rewarded by prosperity, his vices that were punished by calamities. The king thus bore the heavy responsibility of securing, by his virtue, the general well-being of his kingdom; and equally he was to be blamed if, by his misconduct, called down the anger of Heaven upon the society in general.⁹³ The heavenly Mandate given to Chou king was not a patent of divine right, irrevocable and eternal. It was conferred upon a sage king whose virtue had entitled him to serve as the deputy of Heaven.⁹⁴ Virtue made them worthy representative of the Supreme Ancestor. A tyrant who misruled his kingdom and did not possess the virtue of justice, benevolence, and sincerity, was deprived of the mandate; and rebellion against his rule was considered not a crime, but rather the just punishment of the outraged Heaven, acting through the medium of rebels.⁹⁵

The traditional concept of Chou royalty reveals that Chou monarch was conceived of as an ethical being. This ethical concept was symbolized by and embodied in the person of Chou kings. Heaven was looked upon as a living divinity which controlled human society through the kingly function of the Chou princes. Chou house was the mediator between Heaven and man and exercised secular authority on behalf of Heaven. Therefore, Chou king looks like a religious symbol around which the ancient tribes of central Asia might have rallied in belief and faith. The kingly attribute of Chou monarch had fashioned the moral system of the Tibeto-Burman culture as exemplified by the Northern *zo* pattern of *zo* culture. This point is the theme of this study that the author tries to advance.

Now the concept of Chou house has pointed to the identical character of Chou kingship with the spiritual image of Heaven. Its account as already given above has shown that the ancient word Chou or Cho or Zo (Jo) bears a religious symbol representing the 'Sacred'. The Shan and the Karen sources of tradition are more definite and specific in identifying Zo as representing a divine being. For instance, God is denoted by Sao Phaya in Shan, and the Karen source has it as Y'wa, their progenitor and the Creator of mankind as well.

It is very likely that a spiritual kingdom in reflection of heavenly image was once instituted in ancient China with the title Zo before which, perhaps, mankind bowed down in reverence and obedience to its sovereign rule. Thus Zo reigned and held ancient central Asian world into a certain degree of cultural unity through its hegemonic representation of Heaven by its virtue of heavenly sonship. Zo had reigned thus for centuries and had profoundly influenced the civilization of central Asia where different peoples of mankind lived. A population explosion seems to have occurred probably the last centuries of time before Christ, which may have affected mass exodus from China into South-East Asia. These immigrants including the Tibeto-Burman tribes, to whom, Luce states, the Karen also belonged. These migrating peoples, it appears, brought with them the spiritual

93. Ibid., 75-76.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

image of their ancestral deity in the form of mountains, rock and cave. The divine title Zo is still preserved in various forms by the Burmese racial groups. To the Tibeto-Burman people, typically the Chins, the Tibetans, and the Karens, Zo represents the image of their ancestors.

What is spoken and written Zo in Chin seems to have been taken by most of the Burmese nationals as a noble title in its varied forms. For instance, feudal chieftainship is termed *Duwa* in-Kachin and the men of Duwa take the title Zau as in Zau Tawng. Some Karens also take 'Saw' to prefix their personal names. The Shan title *Sao* as in Sao Shwe Taik, the first President of the Union of Burma, clearly expresses its root. This term though variedly spoken and adopted suggests that the present Burmese nationals once live together under the rule of Zo which had imprinted its mark upon them. All this point pre-supposes that the new Burmese society in Central Burma following the ruin of Pyu kingdom was probably founded upon a family lineage of ancient Zo ruling house, and that the culture that they brought down was displaced by the one that came from India.

U Kyan, insistently says that in Asho, the word *Sho* means life. This tradition is found coincided with the explanation for the scientific term Zoology. The term Zoo by taking the three letters of Zoological, is the collection of animals. Rioler writes, "It, before a vowel properly Zo-, is the combining form of animal, and in botanical term, the prefix zo sometimes denotes power of spontaneous movement".⁹⁶ He also writes that the term was formerly supposed to be a distinctive characteristic of animals. The ordinary term Zoic is showing traces of life, and in geology, contains organic remains. The term *Zoism*, on the other hand, is the doctrine that life depends on a particular vital principle. So its definition has shown that the technical term Zoo is associated with the origin of live. So it looks as if the term Zoo had its root in the word Zo.

The study of its meaning has brought to light that in the Tibeto-Burman sense, Zo was inherently a respectful term, denoting the idea of nobility or 'Lordship', and in Chinese a 'sacred being'. Besides this in its scientific sense, Zo symbolizes the state of living or the vital power of life. According to Chou tradition, it represents the image of heavenly sonship. It is the generic term by which the ancestors of the Kuki-Chins designated themselves in the form ZOMI or MIZO. Relating to the term *Mi*, FitzGerald says that oracle bones discovered by excavation at An Yang No. 2, in China contain mention of the tribe or clan of 'Mi', and 'Mi', the same character, constitutes the name of the legendary ancestor of the Kings of Ch'u.⁹⁷ Owen Lattimore suggests whether the English word 'man' was derived from 'mun' or 'mien' the Chinese Yao language for man which is *mi* in both Tibetan and the Northern Zo languages. In either case, *Mi* or 'man' was, perhaps, the original form which represented the generic term for human being,⁹⁸ and from it, other tribal or racial names might have taken their specific designations.

In that case, the prefix 'Zo' qualifies the 'mi' and distinguishes the 'Mi' from its general sense. From this trend of assumption, it is derivable that the racial name ZOMI stands for Noble Man or Noble being. In its literal sense, it could have meant the 'Rock People'.

96. Vivian Rioler, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, (London : Oxford University Press, 1933, 1961), 'Zoology'

97. Fitz Gerald, *China*, 31.

98. "In the first centuries of historial age there was no such people as 'the Chinese'. (*China a short Cultural history*, p.30).

The Cult of Earth

This work will be incomplete unless mention is made of the cult that Zo ancestors had professed. This cult scholars call megalith or the cult of Earth that characterizes Zo tradition and culture. Zo origin myths have been mentioned and are found referring to different natural objects of which mountain ridge, rock, cave and sky are to be considered significant in historical sense. The beliefs of these objects seem to be reflective of the cultic origin. It has been said that some mountain ridges were believed to have the divine power to control man's fate on earth and even to rule the souls of men after death. The mountain Tung Yo in China and the Mount Pupa in Central Burma represent the example. This belief, according to Wales, was subsidiary to the old idea associated with the cult of earth. Whatever the cultic pattern may have been, the object of Zo sacrifice was represented by some sacred mountains, which were viewed as the controller of winds and rains.

It is told that the Zos made annual sacrifice to *Langkui* (*Htam-phaya* in Burmese) in the south of Kalemyo, when they lived in the Kale-Kabaw valleys. After their settlement in Chin-Hills, the sacrifice to some mountain ridges was still practised in various places. *Thuamvum* called Kennedy Peak, about ten miles to the east of the present Tedim town was offered sacrifices by the Dimpi village in early days. The same rites were performed to the Muchip ridge in Falam township by the Seipuis, to the Vuichip ridge by the Thantlangs and to the Zinghmu tlang by the Ramthros on the border of Falam and Hakha townships.

Each of these sacred mountain ridges has its legend relating to the display of divine force. For instance, after the period Ramthro was founded, the village chronicle says, a magical war was fought between the Zinghmu tlang mountain and the *Kawl* (the god of the plains) in which the *Kawl* sent a band of hornbills to invade Zinghmu tlang. The chronicle tells that the invading hornbills all fell down to the ground because of the hailstones that hit them before they could strike the tlang.⁹⁹ Until today, Thuamvum is believed to have the power of controlling nature.¹⁰⁰

For instance, if the *gua-ngal*, a kind of bamboo growing on the mountain ridge, is cut, it is believed, the *Thuam* god is enraged and emerges into stormy rains and destroy the 'taungya crops'. So there is a common understanding among the Suangpi villagers to refrain from cutting the *gua-ngal* on the ridge till the crops have been collected.

99. Personal interview with Run Kung, an old man and native of Ramthro village at the Ramthro Bungalow, on July 10, 1982

100. Thuamvum is the name given to the summit of the Lethar range, *Thangmualpi* in Tedim. The deity of the mountaintop is called *Thuamte* personified as *Thuam Pau*. The stream named Ngatan takes its source from the thuam ridge, entering into Manipur river at the place below Mualbem village. The stream has a whirl-pool named *Livei* which is deified *Liveite*, the goddess of which is called *Vei Niang*. A legend is told as this. *Vei Niang*, the daughter of *Liveite*, was married to *Thuam Pau*, the son of *Thuamte*. According to custom, *Thuamte* sent a white barking deer for the price of *Vei Niang*, the bride, to the *Livei*. On its way to *Livei*, the deer was shot dead by Awn Kham of Phunom village below the ridge that it did not reach its destination. Then a dispute arose between the *Thuamte* and *Liveite* over the payment of the marriage price, in which the *Liveite* accused the *Thuamte* of not paying the price, with the result that a war broke out. The *Thuamte* emerged into violent storm and rains and the waters of all streams and rivers increased to overflooding. Landscapes滑 and blocked the flow of all rivers and streams, and fishes in the streams thus blocked died in many fold. (*Suangpi Muualsang*, p.235).

Some assume that the Lai tribes were descended from the dwellers in the Lailun cave in Chin-Hills. However, according to Rev. Dr. East's record, the object that is called Lailun is not the cave below the rock; but it is the standing rock to which tradition specifically refers the ethnic origin of the Lai speakers. This feature of tradition is found consistent with the Tibetan legend which identifies the Tibetan progenitor with the she-demonic rock. But this does not necessarily imply to derive that the term Lai denotes rock.

The Tedim term *Khul* for cave is *laing-goo* (လှိုင်-က္ခာ) in Burmese. Here, the Burmese *goo* or *gu* and the Zo *khul* seem to have been semantically the same word. The same idea applies to the Burmese word *laing* and the Zo word *lai* in which the Burmese form probably deviated along the Burmese alphabet. This will follow that since the Burmese *laing* denotes cave, the Zo word *lai* could have meant cave, and the phrase *laing-goo* in Burmese would have been the same phrase with *lai-khu* or *lai-khul* in its original form. Today the Zos in Paletwa area use two terms side by side for their racial designation. These are *Khu-mi* and *Kha-mi*. The racial name *Kha-mi* has been previously said to have been derived from *Kham-mu* meaning the people living on the hill-slope. In the case of *Khu-mi*, the prefix *khu* closely resembles the Tedim *khul* and the Burmese *goo*. Assuming thus, the racial designation *Khu-mi* would have been the same name with *Khul-mi* or *Goo-mu* meaning the 'Cave- man' or 'the Cave-people'.

It has been mentioned that the words Zo, Lai, Khu and Kham are used by the Zos for their racial name. Based on what have been said relating to the origin and meaning of these words, it can be concluded that these culture words had represented what ancient tribes had believed. So it is very likely that ancient tribes had taken the symbol of their beliefs, by which they were distinguished among mankind, for their ethnic identification. Hence Zomi, Laimi, Khumi, and the like, of which Zo may have stood for the chief deity to which Lai and Khu belonged.

The Cult of Mountain-top

It has been already mentioned that the mountain T'ai Shan was deified as meaning sacred although its chronicle makes no mention of its background. According to the Sino-Tibetan source, the first rulers on earth were celestial kings. The Lao (Swiazang) source of origin myth, too, refers to sky as the place from where the Adam and Eve came down. This tradition seems to be the origin of the belief in mountain-top as having divine force. So it is required to mention the tradition relating to the belief of mountain-top.

The Northern Zo language contains a significant culture word, *mual*, the concreted feature of which differs slightly among the Northern Zos. According to its Tedim pattern, the term *mual* is used alternately to denote mountain ridge and hillock as well, where *mual-taung* refers to mountain ranges. The word is also used for memorial stone or pillar on the one hand. In the sense of memorial stone, *mual* is marked by standing slabs of stone on which are usually inscriptions showing the things and compliments one desires to be memorized.¹⁰⁶ A *mual* is often set up to mark important occasions or significant events. In most cases, it is erected in commemoration of a deceased. A typical

have the power to give child to fruitless woman. The hole below the Saizang village, from which Thung Thu and Nem Niang, the Tedim Adam and Eve, are said to have come out, was once offered the sacrifice of a he-goat personally made by the priest chief Mang Sum, the founder of Saizang settlement. The Cave called Lungpi to the south of Falam town, on the highway road to Hakha was also worshipped by the people in its surrounding area.

All this tradition shows that some caves were believed by Zo ancestors as being inhabited by spirits. Almost all sources of Zo tradition commonly say that they (Chins) began from cave. This tradition is taken by some students of Chin history as an indication of Zo dwelling in caves. According to Ciimnuai tradition, it looks as if Zo progenitor were from the subterranean world. But the metaphors used in the placation suggest that the cave is associated with the deity of the sacrifice. These metaphors are transmitted as follows:

Vanu Khulpi hong khupnelh ta teh,
 Khul vangah hong suak ta teh,
 Dawi in Kau in hong piang ta teh,
 Gan tual ngo zongin kuan teh,
 Na cihmawh ciang'n hih mipa guh tep ta teh.¹⁰⁴

[You have passed through *Vanu Khulpi*,
 You have come out of the hole of the *Khul*,
 You have become god and spirit,
 You have set out in search of fat cattle,
 You have sucked the bones of the this man
 When failed to obtain it.]

Zo ancestors did not worship every mountain, but only those which were believed to have the power of controlling rains. A critical study of the geological nature and the belief of mountain reveals that only the ridges which are rocky in nature were believed as possessing divine force. According to geological formation, most rocky mountains are made of lime-stone. Lailun, Lungpi, and Zingmu tlang in Falam area may represent the example for this natural formation. In most cases, lime-stone contains hollow spaces. This kind of space is called cave (*khul* in Tedim and *Kua* in Hakha). Therefore, the study of its geological structure makes it clear that mountains are naturally associated with rocks and caves. Thus the beliefs of mountain ridges, rock and cave as separate deities are in fact naturally related with one another and, perhaps, also historically. In other words the origin of the belief of mountain ridges, rocks, and caves as the dwelling place of spirit seems to have commonly connected with the same religious symbol which is mountain - YO, and is analogous with rock - ZO. One may wonder if the origin of this cult has had a common root with that of the Hebrew on Mount Horeb. (I Kgs. 19:11-13)¹⁰⁵

104. Gin Za Tuang, *Zomi Innkuan*, 5.

105. "Go forth, and stand upon the mount before the Lord. And behold, the Lord passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains, and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice. And when Elijah heard it, he wrapped his face in his mantle and went out and stood at the entrance of the cave. And behold, there come a voice to him, and said, 'What are you doing here, Elijah ?'"

Some assume that the Lai tribes were descended from the dwellers in the Lailun cave in Chin-Hills. However, according to Rev. Dr. East's record, the object that is called Lailun is not the cave below the rock; but it is the standing rock to which tradition specifically refers the ethnic origin of the Lai speakers. This feature of tradition is found consistent with the Tibetan legend which identifies the Tibetan progenitor with the she-demonic rock. But this does not necessarily imply to derive that the term Lai denotes rock.

The Tedim term *Khul* for cave is *laing-goo* (လှိုင်-က္ခာ) in Burmese. Here, the Burmese *goo* or *gū* and the Zo *khul* seem to have been semantically the same word. The same idea applies to the Burmese word *laing* and the Zo word *lai* in which the Burmese form probably deviated along the Burmese alphabet. This will follow that since the Burmese *laing* denotes cave, the Zo word *lai* could have meant cave, and the phrase *laing-goo* in Burmese would have been the same phrase with *lai-khu* or *lai-khul* in its original form. Today the Zos in Paletwa area use two terms side by side for their racial designation. These are *Khu-mi* and *Kha-mi*. The racial name *Kha-mi* has been previously said to have been derived from *Kham-mi* meaning the people living on the hill-slope. In the case of *Khu-mi*, the prefix *khu* closely resembles the Tedim *khul* and the Burmese *goo*. Assuming thus, the racial designation *Khu-mi* would have been the same name with *Khul-mi* or *Goo-mi* meaning the 'Cave- man' or 'the Cave-people'.

It has been mentioned that the words Zo, Lai, Khu and Kham are used by the Zos for their racial names. Based on what have been said relating to the origin and meaning of these words, it can be concluded that these culture words had represented what ancient tribes had believed. So it is very likely that ancient tribes had taken the symbol of their beliefs, by which they were distinguished among mankind, for their ethnic identification. Hence, Zomi, Laimi, Khumi, and the like, of which Zo may have stood for the chief deity to which Lai and Khu belonged.

The Cult of Mountaintop

It has been already mentioned that the mountain T'ai Shan was deified YO' meaning 'sacred' although its chronicle makes no mention of its background. According to the Sino-Tibetan source, the first rulers on earth were celestial kings. The Tedim (Sihzang) source of origin myth, too, refers to sky as the place from where the Chin 'Adam and Eve' came down. This tradition seems to be the origin of the belief of mountaintop as having divine force. So it is required to mention the tradition relating to the belief of mountaintop.

The Northern Zo language contains a significant culture word, *mual*, the conceptual feature of which differs slightly among the Northern Zos. According to its Tedim pattern, the term *mual* is used alternately to denote mountain ridge and hillock as well, where *mual-taang* refers to mountain ranges. The word is also used for memorial stone or pillar on the one hand. In the sense of memorial stone, *mual* is marked by standing slabs of stone on which are usually inscriptions showing the things and compliments one desires to be memorized.¹⁰⁶ A *mual* is often set up to mark important occasions or significant events. In most cases, it is erected in commemoration of a deceased. A typical

106. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 192.

mual will list what the deceased had owned and had done in his life time that gave him honour and dignity. The *mual* having thus idea is translated into English as 'Memorial Stone'. This clearly shows that *mual* represents or symbolizes the personality of the man to whom it refers. What the Tedims call *mual* (memorial stone) the Lai speakers call *lungdon* where *lung* is stone and *don* means somewhat like platform or elevated place from which environment could be viewed. So *lungdon* suggests the sense of 'high place'.

According to the Lai pattern of Northern Zo language grave-site is called *thlan-mual* where *thlan* (*han* in Tedim) is grave. Relating to this term, its chronicle records that the name of the town Thlan-tlang (now pronounced Thantlang) in Chin State is said to have originally meant 'the grave on the hill' in correspondance with the town which is situated on a hillock. So Thantlang could mean 'the grave mountain'. In Zotung area in Matupi township, grave sites are still indicated by standing stones and wooden poles which may appear to Quaritch Wales like 'stone cist-grave, dolmen-like slab-graves, stone sarcophagi and vats'. Lotaw village in the same area still practises the traditional type of grave which is constructed in a rectangular shape measuring about ten feet long and five feet wide, elevated about three feet from the ground. It is rightly termed *Mual* in Zotung dialect. All this cultural element has clearly shown that the terms, *mual*, *tlang* (*taang*, *taung*) and *han* (grave) were historically related to grave or tomb.

Mual as memorial object has been already mentioned as being characterized by standing material objects. Whenever possible, it is erected on the summit of the hill. The name Thantlang is much suggestive of its traditional background that grave or tomb was originally built on the hill or mountaintop, or at least on an high place. Therefore, the Zo term *mual* essentially denotes tomb which is in turn analogous with mountain. So it looks as if the term *mual* in Northern Zo was handed down in association with the cosmic concept of mountain. Perhaps, the idea of tomb indicated by standing slabs of stone or wooden posts and the mountaintop are traditionally related. It is very likely that in course of time, the original concept of *mual* in the Tedim sense was transferred to be attached to the standing materials set up as 'memorial stone'. The tradition in which stone is analogous with tribe or people will be mentioned under the heading concerned.

The physical structure of *mual* (*lungdon*) being erected in upright position expresses the idea of height, loftiness or elevation and represents the personified image of mountain as the 'self- assertion' of a man of Zo 'at the centre of his world as a victorious war-lord'.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, *Mual* as memorial object means more than memorial image as it has always been interpreted, but it represents the idea of mightiness that is symbolically expressed by the physical image of standing or erecting. So the Zo term *mual* in the Tedim sense would better be translated as Monument or Pillar. To conclude *Mual* is the analogous word for mountain in the Tibeto-Burman Chin tradition.

So far *mual* has been described in its traditional sense. In fact the tradition is rooted in the religious belief. What is called *mual* as memorial object and grave or tomb as well is essentially altar according to the Lai practice of Northern Zo culture. It is the sacrificial precinct in the village, usually located by a banyan tree. The term refers to the village alter which as a social collectivity is linked with the founders of the village; that is, in Lehman's term, 'participating in a tradition handed down from the past'.¹⁰⁸ *Mual* in this

107. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 204.

108. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 176.

sense is called *tual*, the communal sacrifice. In short *mual* is in another sense associated with the genealogy of the tribe who founded the village. This fact shows that *mual* represents the object of Zo sacrifice in ancient times. Zo source of tradition, however, does not furnish the background of how the culture term *mual* came to be thus conceived. Fortunately the Tibetan source tells of it. Due credit may go to Dr. R.A. Stein for his tireless works on the Tibetan mountain cult, the account of which he gives vividly in his work entitled "Tibetan Civilization". In reliance on the facts given by Dr. Stein in this book, can the origin of the term *mual* be traced back.

In the legendary age, the first Tibetan kings were from heaven. They exercised earthly function, living on earth by day, but returning to their celestial abode each night (P.48). They ascended the sky and descended to the earth by the aid of rope or cord connecting the sky with the earth. During the reign of the last celestial king, the rope was cut off in a magical fight and the king could no longer return to his celestial abode. So the king had to die on earth and to leave his corpse on earth. Therefore, a tomb had to be built for the king on the mountaintop. The rope or cord by which the legendary kings ascended the sky and descended to the earth is termed *hmu* (pronounced *mu*) in the Ch'iang language (p.203). The rope connecting the sky with the earth symbolizes the imaginary idea that the rope touches to the sky and that the rope is similar to the sky. Thus the rope is also termed *mu* rope. The mountain is likened to a ladder or rope by which the legendary kings ascended the sky and descended to the earth. The first legendary kings had no tombs or had their tombs in the sky since they dissolved into the sky by way of the *mu* rope, a sort of the rainbow. The tombs of later kings were successively on the natural steps leading from the sky downwards along the mountain slope. Even the tomb of king Songtsen Gampo was known as 'Brown Mu Mountain' (p.203). The first royal castle was the sacred mountain YarIha Shampo Kangtsen- most probably the same mountain with the one to which the first Tibetan king is said to have come down. Sacred mountains are, according to Tibetan source of tradition, 'gods of the country' or 'master of the place'. They are regarded both as 'Pillars of the Sky' and 'Pegs of the Earth'. So tomb is mountain and is at the same time analogous with sky. Thus, sky, mountain, and tomb are traditionally associated with one another. By this way and through that process, the tomb built on mountaintop or high place, perhaps, came to be termed *mu* in assimilation with sky, that is MU in Ch'iang language. So it is almost certain that the Northern Zo term *Mual* was derived from its original form *Mu*.

2

Zo Cosmic Conception

Universe

Zo tradition views its universe as the composite of three realms. These are *Vantung*, *Leitung* and *Leinuai*. In the word *Vantung* (*Vancung* in *Hakha*), *van* is sky and *tung* or *cung* denotes the idea of 'over' or 'above'. *Vantung* is, therefore, the realm beyond the *van* (sky) or the realm beyond the doom of the sky probably equivalent to the idea of heaven. So *Vantung* denotes heaven. *Leitung* is chiefly the flat surface of the earth which is settled by human being. And *Leinuai* is somewhat like a realm peopled by the mythical human-like being, in the under-world.¹

Leitung also has the idea similar to the Burmese conception in which the world comprises three realms, namely, material world, the animal world and the phenomenal world.² In short, *Leitung* is the natural world. But Zo tradition does not have similar idea of nature to the modern sense of the word, the law of cause and effect. While the processes of nature keep their regularity, this order of nature is disruptable by any divine power at will. So nature is subjected to divine will. So according to Zo view of nature, the world is 'spiritually natural'. It is inhabited by all sorts of spirits of which man is only one. In a sense, therefore, the world is viewed as a spiritual realm.

Leitung is, again, what is inhabited, what has feeling, 'soul', and is the innate world named *khua*. If *Leitung* is equivalent to the world that comprises three realms-material, animal, and phenomenal, then *khua* would be equivalent to human society/ Lehman defines *khua* as 'that in which life is felt to exist by extension of a lively, warm place'; that is 'a village and its houses and kitchen gardens in contrast to *gam* (or *ram*) which is the countryside, uncultivated, uncut plant life in general'.³ So *khua* is in a sense the

1. In the *Nei No* Epict, lady *Nei No* was carried down to the under-world by the *Leinuait*, the under-world people, in the same manner as *Marduk* was carried down to the under-world by *Mot* as mentioned in the *Cannanite* myth. The pursuit and claim of *nei No* by *Nan Tal* ensues a furious struggle in the under-world. ['*Nei No Tangthu*,' *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dialect) No.4].
2. B.S.P.P., *The System of Correlation of Man and His Environment* (Rangoon: B.S.P.P. Press, 1963), 2.
3. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 172f.

settled area. In that sense, village, town, and city are *khua* in general.⁴ *Khua* exists in contrast to *gam*, the countryside owned by the village. For instance, the country of Burma is *Kawl-gam* at large.

Darkness and Light

Khua has been described to stand for human society. But its proper concept seems to have been more than that. In the Tedim usage, *khuapha* is good weather as against *khuasia* which is bad weather. Where *khuapha* is characterized by the absence of rain and cloud in the atmosphere, *khuasia* denotes the atmosphere that is rainy. In a way *khuadam* means cold climate and *khualum* means warm climate. All this usage suggests that the idea of *khua* is related with the atmospheric world or the material world as well as the secular world being spirited with somewhat like cosmic energy. This cosmic energy is deified as *Khuazing* which is considered to be the controller of the world under heaven. So *Khua* in its cosmic sense represents the god of the world that is essentially the Earth. Now it seems clear that in the realm of *khua* exists the human society in relation to the countryside from which people can have or obtain material things. Thus *Khuazing* is believed as the controller of the earthly things. Until today the Christian elders in the Hakha area address to God as *Kan Khuazing*, meaning our God. At one time *Khuazing* seemed to have been looked upon like the supreme deity of all divinities. "The Chin, perhaps, under Christian influence", says Lehman, "have also adopted the Lushai word *Pathian*, meaning God, as roughly equivalent with *Khuazing*".⁵ In this regard, Lehman seems to have been influenced by Grierson's first impression on the Zo view of universe. In fact the two terms, *Khuazing* and *Pathian*, were not of local origin in Chin Hills. These were brought to Chin Hills probably from Central Asia. The two deities signify the dual nature of Zo cosmic conception.

Khuazing exists is against *Khuavak*. The suffix *zing* is literally, 'dark' and *vak* is 'light' in the literal sense of matter. Darkness means the absence of light in the atmosphere or the state of being invisible. In that sense *zing* appears to denote the invisibility of the deity. Hence *Khuazing* symbolizes the Invisibl. In the Tedim usage, this idea is described as *Muh-mawh-te*⁶ meaning divine being. So it is derivable that *Khuazing* represents the divine being that controls the *khua*, the innate world. There is another term denoting the divinity of *Khua*. It is *Khuachia* (*Khuasia* in Tedim). The deity, *Khuazing*, was handed down to the Lai speakers as the chief god who ruled and owned everything on earth, even the fate of man. On the other hand, *Khuachia* is viewed somewhat like a demonic being or evil spirits which inhabit the countryside. The name *Khuachia* has the sense of bad climate occurring in the atmosphere because of heavy rainfall. In the same idea, the Tedim source also classifies the deity of *Khuazing* into *Zinmang* and *Zinleeng* where *Zinmang* is equivalent to the Lai view of *Khuazing* and *Zinleeng* is equivalent with *Khuachia*. As its name implies, *Zinleeng* with its suffix *leeng* means 'wandering', 'roaming' or properly astraying, is the astral deity like the Lucifer in the Christian tradition.

4. The village of Zo in the east of Hakha town is *Zo-khua*, Falam town is *Falam-khua*, and Rangoon city is called *Zangkong khuapi*. In practical usage, town is *Khuapi* as in *Falam-khuapi* and city is *khualipi* as in *zangkong-khualipi*.

5. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 177

6. Tradition goes that if one sees what is held invincible, he is bound to die in similar tradition, "Have I really seen god and remained alive after seeing him" (Gen. 16:13).

As the devil of *Khua* (the world,) *Khuachia* is viewed as incapable of giving fortunes to man, but instead is always prone to do damages and inflicts loss and suffering. This kind of spirit must be propitiated. Carey and Tuck state that the Hakhas never look to *Khuazing* for grace and mercy, except for withholding the plagues and misfortunes which he is capable of invoking on any in this world who offends it.⁷ The Tedims look to *Zinmang* as the one who can give fortunes to whom it wills.⁸ The deity was one and the same god with *Khuazing* and is the poetic form of the deity. In the name *Zinmang*, *zin* denotes *Khuazing* and *mang* denotes the lordship of the deity. Therefore, *Khuazing* is to be translated as 'the Lord to the Earth'. This title may have been the same deity with Chinese Yin, the word that bears the same cosmic character with *Khuazing* in philosophical conception.

In the face of amazement and sudden trouble, a Tedim usually cries out, "Khuazing in thei in, Khuavak in thei in" meaning "May the Darkness and Light know my plight of affair". This practice suggests as of both the *Khuazing* and *Khuavak* were viewed as representing the deity of the universe or the supreme being to which the injustice done by the *Khuazing* to man could be appealed. Now based on what have been mentioned, it is derivable that where *Khuazing* represents the Earth, *Khuavak* represents the Sun which emanates light to the world.

Conception of Dragon

In fact, the deity *Zinmang* is the poetic form for *Khuazing*. The Tedim practice does not use the title *zinmang* nor *Khuazing* to represent the object of the sacrifices. The prayer uses to say, "Ka pasian na taa in, ka lungzai na taa in". This means "May my *pasian* and my *lungzai* be well-fed and pleased". This ritual call to sacrifice definitely suggests that the deities *pasian* and *lungzai* represent the object of the sacrifice. What is *pasian* will be mentioned under a separate heading.

The term *lung* in Tedim ordinarily and generally denotes *worm*. The name implies the idea of invertibrate animal, a worm-like crawling creature; and *zai* suggests the picture of what is being stretched out or enlarged. Thus the name *lungzai* simply suggests a worm-like creature with a head being large in proportion to the body. So *lungzai* is very like a mythological creature probably a snake-like animal with a large head. This image of creature closely resembles what the Chinese cosmic myth describes as *Chu Ying* or *Chu Lung* which has human face and the body of real snake.⁹ So the Tedim *Lungzai* is similar to the Chinese *Chu-lung* in mythological conception. According to

7. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I:195
 8. The Kalzang chronicle has a story which says that Suan Kai, the founder of the Kalzang settlement and the tribal chief found a set of musical plates called *daak* in Tedim, which was then highly regarded as treasure. What Suan Kai found was hidden under a bush and he ascribes his find to the benefaction of *Zinmang* and the Sun or Light and describes his fortune as follows :

Zinmang langlam ka siangah hong khawl ta e,
 Gual ii lam loh hong siam tung Sunni hi e;
 Kei hong siam tung Sunni leh nuai Zinmang in,
 Ciandal minthang na duangah baang hen ci e.
 [Much have I acquired of the god's wealth,
 It's the Sun above that gives me what others have none;
 My Benefactor - the Sun Above and the Lord of the Earth
 Have ordained on me to confer,
 A set of musical plates.]

9. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 4:412.

the Chinese myth, 'day arrives when the *Lung*¹⁰ opens his eyes, and night falls when he closes them: winter and summer depend on the strength of his breath'.¹¹ Therefore, *Chu-Lung* is viewed as the controller of season and even the universe.

According to the Lai form of Zo language, the word *lung* generally and literally denotes rock. Stone is *lungto*. In the Tedim poetic term, memorial stone is called *lumsuang* which in turn resembles the Kanpetlet word *Lungm-saung* for the same thing. So it appears that the Tedim word *lum*, the Kanpetlet term *lungm* and the Lai term *lung* are one and the same word originally denoting the same sense of thing. And the terms *suang* and *saung* are also likely to be of the same term with the Burmese *Kyausau* meaning rock. In the word *Kyauk-saung*, *kyauk* very closely resembles the Mon term *kyak* for *phaya* (god). These cultural elements strongly suggest the idea that a term somewhat like *suang* or *saung* may have denoted the same object probably stone or rock. Now it becomes more interesting to explore how the term *lung* is added to *suang* (*saung*) as in *lungm-saung* or *lumsuang*.

Based on what have been said, one can suppose that the term *lung* may have referred to rock or stone. But one finds again that the English word 'snake' is called *gul* in Tedim and *rul* or *lul* in some other Zo dialect and there is no word similar to *lung*, which denotes snake. So it is clear that *lung* is not literally snake. There are legends which associate snake with rock. The chronicle of Suante family relates that when Kalzang capital was about to ruin, the snake which was held as the benefactor of the village society disclosed itself to visibility that the village boys caught and killed it. In the following night that the snake was killed, a big stone rolled into the village and was found rested at the *sumtawng* (ground verandah) of a widow.¹² Another story is the chronicle of Suangpi village, saying that a couple of snakes, one in the precinct of the village altar and the other one in the hole at the base of the big rock named Suangpi, exchanged voices by night. The popular belief is that big snakes had mystic association with wind and rains. For instance, it is said that if big snakes were killed, the death of the snake was signified by the emergence of stormy rains; if big snakes were shot dead, the gun used in the shooting could explode. It has also been mentioned on the other that some significant stones and rocks were believed to have the mystic power to release rains. All this tradition points to the fact of rock which was correlative with snake in the same idea as it is said as follows in the Old Testament tradition:

"Three things are worderful for me;
four I do not understand:
the way of eagle in the sky,
the way of serpent on the rock."

(Prov. 30:18,19)

Haka the capital of Chin State, is situated at the foot of the mountain ridge called Rungtlang to which annual sacrifices were offered in early days. The offerring to it was made corresponding with that of the village rite. In their language the deity of the village sacrifice is *Khua-hrum* similar to *Khuarung*, the same deity in Zotung area. So it looks as if the Lai term *Rung*, the Tedim term *Lungzai* and the Chinese *Lung* were the same

10. FitzGerald, *China*, 112.

11. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Macropaedia), 4:412.

12. Nginh Suan, *Kalzang Suante-Beh Khang Tangthu leh Khang Ciamtehna*, (Mimeographed) 1978., 34.

name referring to the same mythological Snake.¹³ It has been now clear that *Lungzai* represents the supernatural power of rock and the Chinese feature of *Lungzai* is translated as Dragon, a mythological Snake-like animal. The reference to *Lungzai* in the invocation to the deity of the sacrifice suggests that *Khuazing*, Lord of the Earth, was personified by *Lungzai* which was *Gulpi* (Snake) in Zo plain language. The Hakha source of Zo tradition is more demonstrative of the concept of Zo Dragon personified by *Gulpi*. In amazement of sudden trouble, man will cry out, "Maw Khuazing, maw Gulpi".¹⁴ Hence the Chinese tradition, *Chu-Ying*, similar to *Khua-Zing*, being correlative with *Chu-Lung*, similar to *Lungzai* in conception. Now it is clear that *Khua-zing* was correlative with *Lung-zai* which was pictured as *Gulpi* (Snake). So *Khua-zing* (Lord of the Earth), *Lung* (rock), *Lung-zai* (Dragon) and *Gulpi* (Snake) were handed down as representing or personifying the chthonic forces. What is not consistent is the fact that while Zo denotes rock or stone, *Lung* also denotes the same object. This fact points to the truth that Zo accumulated different ideas and abstracts in its long history.

Tedim tradition has *Zinmang* as the deity capable of giving fortunes to the tribal society as a whole. But at the same time it was destructive, if uncontrolled, inflicting immense catastrophes upon mankind. On the other hand, *Zinleeng*, the astral spirits, are also mentioned to have been always making trouble to mankind in every conceivable manner. So Zo sacrifice to *Lungzai* is aimed at praying for good fortunes and mercy on the one hand and for withholding plagues and calamities on the other. For the general prosperity and the well-being of the society, sacrifices were made to the communal god which is referred to as *Khua-Siam* by the Tedims, meaning the village benefactor. This deity is the god which controls and owns the country where the village society exists. In fact, *Khua-hrum* and *Khua-rung* are the proper names given to it. *Khua-Siam* seems to be a substitution for the sacred name. The Chinese source pictures *Chu-Lung* not as an evil creature malevolent to mankind, but as the rain-giver who gathered clouds, brought the wellcome moisture and presided over the water courses.¹⁵ According to the Tedim source, *Lungzai* in the form of Snake is pictured as a goddess who was merciful to the poor and beneficent in manifestation.¹⁶ And sometimes, it is portrayed to be destructive as the owner of the soil.¹⁷ In essence *Lungzai* is believed as the rain-giver

13. The Lai pronunciation of 'r' is pronounced 'l' in tedim. For example, the Lai word for enemy is *ral* which is *lal* in the Tedim poetic form.

14. Lehman, *Chin Society*, 177.

15. FitzGerald, *China*, 124, Fig. 23.

16. According to a legend, once there were two brothers named Thang Ho and Lian Do. They were orphan and grew up under the care of their aunt. One day while they were working in the field, they saw an eagle flying over them, holding a snake. Then they asked the eagle to drop the snake to them; the eagle did drop the snake. Then they picked the snake up and placed it somewhere in the field for they were about to go home with the snake, they found the snake missing. They then went home without the snake. When they entered their village, they saw a smoldering smoke in their house, and to their surprise, they saw an old lady cooking food for them. She fed them well with millet food. They were amazed at seeing millets coming out of the lady's finger-nails as she shook them.

[“Thang Ho leh Lian Do thu”. *Chin Reader* (Kamhau dialect) no.4].

17. Another legend relates the destruction of Luika settlement due to the killing of the Snake which controlled the place of the settlement. The myth is said as saying like this : Luika settlement was a large village. Every evening boys and girls noticed that either a boy or a girl was missing every evening. The villagers on learning the tragic event made a search for the matter and they came to discover that it was the *gulpi* (Snake) which regularly caught and ate their children. In their anger they caught the snake which was under the capstone of the *tual* altar (*tualsuang*). They drew the snake out by the head. And then the snake spoke and said, “You cannot draw me out of the ground because my tail is connected with the *Livei* (the capital of the river gods), where it is tied with the *vansuangzawl* (subterranean rock)”, then they cut the snake off that part above the ground and the flesh was divided among the villagers. In the night following the killing of the snake, the land where the village was located slid badly with the result that the capital was totally ruined and was deserted. (*Kalzang Suante-Beh Khang Tangthu*, p.4)

which gives life to the soil and to vegetation. But it does not have the power of controlling human fate. Its power is only concerned with dispensing wealth in the supernatural and natural worlds or withholding misfortunes to mankind.

The Lordship of Zo

Today the Tedim Christians use the word *Topa* for Lord as in *Topa Jesu Khris*. The word *To* is originally used for feudal Lord in the social relationship of feudal society. Besides this, the Post Office is denoted by *Laito* and the Civil Hospital is called *Zato*. These terms with the common suffix *to* the reference point to the fact that *To* is associated with the sense of governmental institution and even suggests the idea of government or state. Regarding its ordinary usage, 'go up' is equivalent with *pai to*, 'rise up' with the *to*, and so on. This usage of words suggests that the term to convey the sense associated with 'upwardness'. This form of idea is found evident in the Tedim funeral rites where a *zu-beel*, a pot of country bear, is specially prepared for offering to an unknown god. The *zu* is significantly named *van-to-zu*, the offering to the Up-Sky, where *van* denotes sky, which can be construed to mean the offering to the Sky Lord or Lord of Sky. This rite strongly suggests the sense that *To* symbolizes the invisible numinous power, i.e., Lord of power or energy. From this, it can be derived that *To* stands for the idea of somewhat like Most High or Transcendence; that is Heaven beyond the doom of sky. Now it may be of interest to study how the same cosmic image is preserved in other related traditions.

According to the Tibetan feature of tradition, sacred mountains are warrior gods. Dr. Stein states that the sacred mountains are usually denoted by the terms as such having the meaning Chief or King. They are regarded as mighty heroes who have died. One of these sacred mountains, the semi-historical king, has a significant name: *IHA THÒ* *Tho Rignyan bsan*; that is 'god, boundary post or standing stone, sacred mountain, mighty'.¹⁸ According to this translation, *THO* is represented by boundary post or standing stone, and *Tho* denotes the sense of sacred. "The group's leader or its leader's self-assertion", says Stein, "at the centre of its world has a war-like victorious air, frequently expressed by the idea of height or loftiness, elevation and might, symbolized by Sky".¹⁹ So what is found from the study of Tibetan tradition is that the idea of height is described in terms of sky which is up there called *THO*.²⁰ This fact strongly suggests that the Tibetan term *To* stands for the cult of Height, expressed by the physical image of standing stone that is pillar of prominent.

The Chinese concept of *Tao* in its early form was also associated with idea of highness or upwardness not in the strict sense of physical elevation and altitude, but in the sense that *Tao* lies beyond human reach. The term is used to denote a philosophical system: Taoism. The essence of its doctrine is described by Dun J. Li as 'the realm of

18. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*, 204.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

Infinite²¹. This realm involves 'reconciling all in the realm of nature, taking no heed of right or wrong or of time, and aspire to the realm of the infinite and take refuge therein'. The Taoist concept of universe closely resembles the Genesis tradition of Creation except that Taoism does not have a place for the creator, the creator of things out of 'nothing'. So the image of Tao is like what in the western philosophy is termed 'Absolute'.

The Taoist doctrine denies the value of any active participation in the affairs of mankind. 'Non-action is preferable to benevolent activity which is itself a sign of the corruption of time'²² So Tao was in-active, keeping itself aloof from the human affairs. This Tao cult with its doctrine or non-action is shared in Zo tradition which has it as in the form of awareness of the existence of a Supreme Being. This vaguely conceived deity Chin did not worship and never looked to it for any grace and mercy. Carey and Tuck identify the 'awareness of the existence of this Supreme Being' with *Khuazing*. However, as has been mentioned Zo cosmic system does not agree with this identification because *Khuazing* only represents the god of the earth.

A comparative study of traditions may lead one to the conclusion that the Chinese *Tao*, the Tibetan *THO Tho* and the Zo *To* were historically related and culturally associated with one another. Their conceptual features commonly suggest that they had probably referred to a common root, that is 'Highness', being unreachable or incomprehensible, to which the antique belief, perhaps, owed its spiritual essence. It is also likely that this primitive idea might have been reproduced and developed by ancient sages into a systematic and formalized philosophy and theology.

The Taoist doctrine, again, recalls to one's mind the idle image of the legendary Emperor Yao who 'ruled by doing nothing in particular and yet brought peace and prosperity to his kingdom'. The rule of Yao even purports a reflection of the kingdom of Adam before his fall. So it looks as if the Taoists revived the ideal image of Yao in a reminiscence of the golden age of innocence and harmony before the fall of man. Latouratte supposes that late Taoism copied foreign faith, derived from a different cosmogony²³. What he describes as 'late Taoism' is the philosophical doctrine of Tao as the manifestation of the power and the operation of Yang and Yin, 'the alternating

21. According to its doctrine, Tao is formless; it could not have a name because a name pre-supposed a form; it could not be discussed; what could be discussed was beyond the sphere of Tao. Tao was 'nothing'; and 'nothingness' is the essence of tao. Why was nothingness important? Because without 'nothingness' nothing in the world could have existed. Its doctrine further asserts that 'nothingness' was the mother of all things' including the universe. The concept of tao was also expressed in a way that 'nothingness' prevailed in everything and was the most useful thing of all existence. It was exemplified with a bowl which is hollow and contains 'emptiness'. For example, a window or a door is useful 'nothingness' dominated its existence. (*The Ageless Chinese A History*, p.86).
22. The Taoist doctrine condemned all values which contemporary society held dear. It taught that the best rulers were those who did not rule; the less effective a government was, the better it would be; wisdom and knowledge contributed nothing to human well-fare except discontent and unhappiness; a simple primitive society was much more preferable to a complicated, advanced one where 'luxury breeds envy and envy brings strife'. If all existing values were discarded, what would be the values of the Tao should adhere to? His values were those of an infant, unspoiled by the existing society. He should be weak and meek; he should be withdrawing and submissive. Nothing was weaker than water; yet, it could destroy and hardest mountains. A man of Tao, therefore, preferred a constant state of 'in-activity'. (*The Ageless Chinese A History*.)
23. Latouratte, *The Chinese*, 220.

forces expressive of light and dark, birth and decay, male and female,' and the like. This assumption seems to be supported by the fact that the To dynasty appeared in the fourth century A.D. One couldnot help to wonder if Tao had a common origin with the Shan word *Tolik*²⁴ for script and *Torah* meaning Instruction, Teaching, in Hebrew²⁵

To sum up this study, one is compelled to make a brief mention of how languages were inter-related. What the Tedim terminology has it as *to* (up) as against *suk* (down) is spoken *sho* in the Lai pattern of Zo language. For instance, 'developed' is *khang-to* in Tedim and *thang-sho* or *thang-so* in Laizo dialect. And *sho* is alternately spoken *zo*²⁶ in the Tibetan form. So it has been almost certain that the terms *To* (*THO, Tho, Tao*), *Zo* and *Sho* were the variant of the same word, denoting the idea of highness not only in the sense of space, but also in the sense of transcendence and unreachability. In other words, *To, Zo, Sho*, were originally used in reference to the cult of Height or Heaven which existed beyond the sky.

Now this study has found out that *To* and *Zo* stand for the ideal image of the Most High or Heaven. According to the Tedim practice relating to the social relationship in the feudal society, the relation of the *sila* (the vassal) to his *To* (Lord) wastied with the fact that the *Sila* finds protection and security in the *To* and is under the obligation to obey the command issued by the *To*. By assimilation, *Topa* signifies the Lorship of Zo. U Gei Khui Sein, former Chairman of Chin State Judges, says that, they, the Cho, as they call themselves, refer to the Northern Zo as *Zopa*. The word *pa* in Chinese tradition means 'overlord'²⁷. So it is like that the title *Topa* was derived from its original form *Zopa*. The Cho reference even suggests as if the Northern Zos were the direct descendants of the lordship of Zo, may lead one to conclude that the idea behind the Lordship of Zo may have had association with the cosmic conception of sky or heaven.

The Concept of Heaven

Some source of Tibeto-Burman tradition has been mentioned as referring to sky or heaven like the image of progenitor. So study needs be made as to whether traditional claim conforms to the cultural aspect in practice. Today the word God in English is used as the equivalent of Heaven and *Pasian* (*Pathian*) is used by the Northern Zos as the equivalent of God. So it is worthwhile to study as to how the title *Pasian* came to be equivalent with God. The development of the name to stand for God will be mentioned under a separate heading. In fact the term *Pasian* was foreign to Zo tradition and is likely to have had an independent origin. Somehow, the word seems to have had originated with the concept to heaven. One cannot avoid to employ the term 'Chinese' to describe the culture that was once practise in the world of the present China. As a matter of fact, 'China' or 'Chinese' was of very late origin in contrast to the long history of China, that Dun J. Li describes as 'the ageless'. So 'ancient China' or 'ancient Chinese' may be the suitable word to represent the ancient culture to which the Tibeto-Burman culture belonged.

24. Personal interview with Lt. Col. Tun Yin Law(retired), former State Councillor, 1983.

25. The New Compact Bible dictionary, "torah".

26. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization*,28, "Shothang (Zothang)".

27. "These overlords (Pa) were five in number..... The first hegemony was that of Ch'i (865-643 BC); it then passed successively to Sung (650-628 BC), Ch'in (659-621 BC), and Chu (613-519 BC)" (*CHINA a Short Cultural History*, p.59).

Scholars recognize Shang of an historical kingdom and Shang culture is considered to be the ancient Chinese indigenous culture. Quaritch Wales has been quoted as stating that the influence of Sumerian civilization on ancient China in the middle of the second millennium B.C. may have been instrumental to the founding of Shang capital at Anyang. According to Quaritch Wales, Sumerian civilization was basically built up on the cult of earth. The indigenous element of Shang culture is distinguished by the ancestor-worship that the Shang people practised. "At a time when the concept of the state was taking shape" says Wales, "it had the incomparable advantage of allowing the king to identify the source of his own might with the land that he ruled".²⁸ So he states thus: "Without definite sex at first, though later regarded as feminine, this introduced deity (earth)...coalesced or was identified with Shang-ti".²⁹ This statement suggests as if the title Shang-ti referred to the cosmic power of the Earth in similar idea to *Khuazing*. In that case, Shang-ti would have been the personification of the chthonic deity. Quaritch Wales also states that when the Chous conquered the Shang a new chief deity named T'ien was adopted and that the name was later regarded as heaven, the deity 'absolutely foreign to Shang culture'.³⁰ He quotes Creel as showing that 'the early form of the word T'ien is clearly equivalent to a man, "a great man". He contends that the name T'ien was 'merely the substitution of their (the Chous) own ancestor for that of the Shangs'.³¹ C.P. Fitz Gerald also states that T'ien was 'personified as Shang Ti, the supreme Ancestor of the created world'.³² Now it appears to be interesting to make a brief study of what idea of the deity Shang Ti represents.

Shang Ti is described as the Supreme Ruler or Ruler Above³³ and is used today for the deity of God by the Chinese Protestant Christians.³⁴ So Shang Ti and T'ien are analogous with each other in identification with Heaven. Though differ in origin, the elements of the two deities are found contained in the Tibeto-Burman culture. There is no doubt that the two terms, Shang Ti and T'ien, had once symbolized separate ideas. In dealing with ancient culture, one has to bear in mind that ancient peoples frequently identified themselves with what they believed and usually instituted kingdoms in the names which were dear to them. The dynasties of Shang or Shang Yin, Chou (Zhao or Zo) and To or Topa testify to the fact of this tradition.

The title Shang is recorded in the Chinese cultural history as the oldest known cult although its chronicles does not make definite mention of what the word had originally meant. In the true sense of tradition, the title of the kingdom was properly Shang Yin in which *Yin*, according to the Tibeto-Burman context, denotes the mystic energy of the soil or earth in the same idea as *Khuazing* does in Zo. It seems that the term was later replaced by *Ti*; that is Earth.³⁵ The term *Ti* is literally water in Zo and was conceived of as being associated with the subterranean world.³⁶ So the title *Ti* in Shang *Ti* was probably used to stand for the power under heaven. So it is almost certain that *Ti* denotes

28. Wales, *The Mountain of God*, 39.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid. 40.

31. Ibid.

32. Fitz Gerald, *China*, 35.

33. Latourette, *The Chinese*, 520.

34. Fitz Gerald, *China*, 38-39.

35. Ibid., 36.

36. The Tibetan Jokhang is a Stone in Lhasa over a lake, which is supposed to lead to the subterranean lake through a hole beneath. It is said that an ear laid against it detects a sound similar to that heard in a sea-shell. (*Tibetan Civilization* p.38)

the cult of Earth. It is hardly known for what idea the term *shang* in Shang Ti originally stood. According to Zo terminology, 'high' is described by *sang*, the same pronunciation with *shang*, in which, for instance, *van-sang* means 'highsky'. And, again, the Cho word *Pa-sang* is the title for the village priest. The *Pa-sang* administered the village sacrifice and prayed on behalf of the tribal society to the deity for good harvests and good fortunes. The rite involves the prayer for obtaining wild beasts. The *Pa-sang* says his prayer as he holds over his head a cane basket facing towards the sky in the belief to be filled with what he asks for. After the prayer, the priest takes down the basket and pours down on the ground what is supposed to have filled the basket. The belief goes as such that the basket was usually filled with the hairs of the kind of wild beast like tiger and bear that was to be obtained in the near future³⁷. This Cho village rite strongly suggests good fortune came down from Sky. The rite also suggests the etymological connection of *Pa-sang* with *shang*, the deity of High. It is not certain whether the same idea applies to the Tibetan term *bsang*, the rite of THO.³⁸ This also recalls to one's mind the Kachin title, *Karaikasang* which is used for God by the Kachin Christians. According to all this tradition, it looks as if the term somewhat like *sang* or *shang* had been used in symbolizing the idea of 'high', the source of grace and power. If this was to be the true tradition, then Shang Ti would literally mean High Earth, denoting the numinous power emanating from High and from Earth. What seems to be clear is the fact that where T'ien denotes the personification of Sky, Shang Ti denotes the power of both Heaven and Earth. The Chinese Christians were, therefore, right in preferring to Shang Ti to represent the deity of God whom the Christians believed to be the Supreme Being. Shang Ti thus embodies the powers of Heaven and Earth; that is the universe. It is not certain whether the Chinese national title *Chungkua* meaning the 'middle kingdom' was adopted in identifying the Emperor with this combined cosmic power. What is written *Bhu-Yin* or *Ba-Yin* for kingship in Burmese seems to be more demonstrative of the word *Pa* in reference to the fatherhood of heaven and of the word *Yin* in reference to the motherhood of earth. This title is also reflective of the traditional concept of the Chou monarch in the sense that the Chou king represented the 'middle' or 'the centre power' of the universe. This feature of cosmic idea constantly underlies the system of ancient central Asian cosmology.

The study of Zo cosmic conception reveals the idea of mountaintop as the embodiment of heaven and earth. Perhaps, mountaintop at one time represented the supreme deity of the universe. The title *Tlang-bawi* used by the Lai speakers for the village priest strongly supports this assumption, in which *tlang* is mountain and *bawi* means master or lord. So *Tlang-bawi* would have meant somewhat like 'mountain-priest' similar to the Midian priesthood represented by Jethro who gives the Midian sacrifice to the holy mountain, Horeb. (Exod.3:1) The cultural account of Tung Yo, 'the sacred mountain' shows that the Chou princes were *Tlang-bawi* who personally offered the royal sacrifice to it. It lies beyond comprehension to say whether the original idea seems to be reflected in the Hebrew tradition which says, "And she did not know that it was I who gave her the grain, the wine, and the oil, and who lavished upon her silver and gold which they used for Baal" (Hos.2:8).

The deity T'ien appears to Creel as merely a deified man for the substitution of their own ancestor for that of the Shangs.³⁹ Relating to this cultic development, the following extracts from Quaritch Wales' statement give one the idea.

37. Personal interview with late Thakin Aung Min, former State Councillor from Mindat Constituency, 1978.

38. Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* 199.

39. Wales, *The Mountain of God*, 40.

When, perhaps the infiltration of later astral aspect of Mesopotamian religion, and certainly accentuated about the Vth century B.C. by the influence of Western planetary cosmology, it seems probable that the Chou ancestor was transferred to the sky. There, as a celestial instead of a mere earthy ancestor, he was identified with some star in the circumpolar region. And sky also, under the new influences, became the home of the dead, though the old idea, associated with the cult of Earth, of a home of the dead underground, still lingered on.⁴⁰

Indeed, the ancestor worship in Zotung area was made in referring to sky as the abode of the dead. It was made with the sacrifice of a goat and the ritual prayer referred to the deity as mother and father.⁴¹ There is still room to investigate whether ZO, the symbol of ancestor, was transferred to sky as a 'sky god'. This point will be dealt later under the heading concerned. But, here, study needs to be made relating to how sky or above was looked upon as the source of all power and grace.

According to the Lai pattern of Zo language, the words lucky and unlucky are described by *van-tha* and *van-chia* respectively in which *van* refers to sky and *tha* and *chia*, similar to *sia* in Tedim, denote good and bad respectively. The Zotung word for *van-tha* is *ve-hoi* in a variant form. The Tedim term *kaam* for the same meaning has been mentioned as being borrowed from the Indo-Aryan culture term. The Tedim vocabulary, on the other hand, contains a unique term *vang* as in *vang-pha* and *vang-sia*⁴² having the same sense in reference with *Van-tha* and *Van-chia*. Though *vang* does not directly refer to sky, it has the associated meaning with sky. The term *vang-pha* may be equivalent to the English expression 'air of important' in appearance. The manifestation of *vang* can be compared with the reflection of sun of the flame of fire and can be likened to the dawn at morning which arrives due to the reflection of the sunlight, but is not the sunlight itself. So *vang* refers to somewhat like energy or power similar to superhuman force in manifestation.⁴³ Tradition does not specify the source of *vang* which manifest itself through human being as a kind of spiritual energy.

According to Chou tradition, the Chou king was regarded and revered as a 'sacred being' endowed with the kind of *vang*. The Chinese term for this idea is transliterated as *wang* which means King. This kingly title, *Wang*, symbolizes the Heavenly mandate

40. Wales, *The Mountain of God*, 40.

41. The Zotung invocation to the sky deity cites as this : "E, meheh tum in ka na hrin tu, van a om mi kan Nu kan Pa ka pek, kan ngan dam seh, kan chan say seh, fanu ka pek fapa ka pek; mi ni an kan ti tik-ah, na kut na ke in kan kham ko".

42. Ngulh Khai of Suangpi uses *vang-sia* in describing his state of bad luck as this : "Kei vang zu bang sia hiam aw e, sangkap zu bang sia hiam aw. Tong ka kumpih lia leh taang in, 'na vang zu bang sia' ci e". This is something like thus : Am I of bad fortune ? or is the king beast I shot deformed ?

43. Mang Sum was the priest-chief of Saizang capital in Tedim area. He was wealthy and famous for having many slaves and receiving tributes from his domain. Then he believed himself as possessing a superhuman force-*vang* in him. He said that his *vang* was so great that he was very powerful. One day he went out a hunting in jungle with his attendant. He wanted to test of his *vang* if it surpassed all. He made the plan for the test in which he would stay on a tree and the bushes and plants around the tree would be set fire. According to his plan, the test of his *vang* was carried out. Suddenly a whirl wind from outside came in and mixed with the fire which instantly transformed itself into a whirl fire. Contrary to his belief, his *vang* could not overcome the flame of the fire that Mang Sum was whirled with the whirl fire and died with the fire. (This legend is taken from the "Saizang Chronicle" retold by Thang Tuan of Mualpi in Tedim speaking area).

probably equivalent to the political concept of 'sovereign power' embodied in and manifested through the person of Chou king. So the term *vang* in Tedim and *wang* in Chinese are similar in terminology and cosmic conception. *Van*(High above or heaven) was, therefore, conceived of as the source of cosmic power and also as the controller of human fate. In ancient time, Tung YO represented the Chou royal cult and was believed 'to control the spring of life, to have governed man's fate and to have ruled even the soul of man after death'. In correspondence with this belief, the idea of *van-tha* is strikingly described in the Zotung source as somewhat like *Zoe-then*.⁴⁴ Though not clearly conceptualized, *zoe-then*, the Zotung word for good fortune, was very likely derived from Zo or Yo as the source of mercy and grace. If such was the tradition, the Zo or Yo could very well have been the analogy of Sky in religious belief and conception. So *Wang* (*Vang*), the Chou kingly title for the Chou prince through whom Heaven was manifested, was probably conceived of as the symbol of grace and mercy. In that sense *Zoe-then* may have referred to the grace of Heaven. All this therefore, leads one to conclude that Zo or Yo symbolized the cosmic power of Heaven which emanated *wang* or *vang*.

Now this study finds out that Yo (or Zo) symbolically represent three objects at a time. These are Mountain or Mountaintop, Heaven, and Monarch. In its relation to heaven, the monarch was the Son and the heaven was the Father. And in relation to other feudal states, the Monarch was the *Pa*, overlord or Hegemon to which other states were related in fidelity. In this idea of relationship, the fatherhood of Chou monarch is expressed and on which was patterned the moral system of Zo cultural Empire.

The belief of parent as capable of bestowing blessings upon those children with whom they were well-pleased seems to have had rooted in the religious conception of ancient Zo monarch. The address to father as Zo in Tibetan, *Zwa* in Tedim, and *Y'wa* in Karen testifies to the fact that a word somewhat like Zo was handed down throughout generations as an ancestor or progenitor even if the name may have referred to either heaven or mountain in origin. It is also very likely that the word had always been a sacred image probably since long before a date indicated by the present historical evidence of the 'angeless Chinese'.

To conclude, tradition identifies Heaven as the controller of human fate and also as the source of secular authority, grace and mercy. Zo monarch represented the heavenly image manifested as the moral rectitude upon which Zo human society was built. Zo monarch, on the one hand, reflects the fatherhood of heaven in its relation to its subjects or mankind on earth. It bears the image of divine king on the one hand and acted as the supreme ruler of the earthly world on the other. So Zo personifies Heaven. Heaven built its kingdom on earth through the medium of Zo monarch in the same manner as God builds His spiritual kingdom through the medium of Jesus Christ, His begotten Son.

44. Personal interview with Zang Kham (70) and Lai Puai (60) on 4-2-1982 at the Matupi town rest house.

The Cult of Pasian

The Tedim Christians adopted and use the Zo term *Pasian* for God. It is interesting to study how the term developed into a word having such a sense of God. In origin *Pasian* represented an object of sacrifice and was handed down as the correlative of *Lungzai*. The Tedim ritual invocation says, "Ka Pasian na taii in, Ka Lungzai na taii in", meaning "Let my *Pasian* be well-fed, my *Lungzai* be well-fed". Tradition refers to *Pasian* as *pasiante* with the plural suffix *te* and its proper name is *pasiante unau*, *pasian* brother. The Nei No myth portrays the *pasian* brothers as living divinities⁴⁵. The account of their activities show that they favour those who offered sacrifices to them. To (or Zo) as a deity has been mentioned as residing in the most high that it was 'unreachable', 'unapproachable', and 'incomprehensible' keeping itself aloof from human affairs. To is thus inactive and impersonal in manifestation. Contrary to this deity, the *pasian* brothers were active and personal, interfering with human affairs. This study finds good reason to assume that the word *pasian* may have had its origin in the belief of Heaven which was deified as *T'ien* in Chinese. This term *T'ien* closely resembles *thian* as in *Pa-thian*, the Lai term for God. And, again, the Chinese vocabulary contains another name *pa-hsien* which represents eight immortals living on high mountains such as *Kunlun*, etc. in central Asia⁴⁶. The Chinese cultural history records that this name *pa-hsien* is of Tao culture⁴⁷. Therefore, it seems that the Tedim divine name *pasian* and the Chinese *pa-hsien* were one and the same divinity in origin. Now it has been evident that this *Pasian* cult was originated and brought down from central Asia with the people.

In its history, *pasian* was never viewed as bearing demonic characteristic feature although the deity was not clearly conceptualized. While *pasian* was concerned in its

45. *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dalet), No.4, "Nei No Tangthu". In the Nei No myth the episode is told as this : Once upon a time, there was a young lady named Nei No, who was ill for a long time and no one could cure her illness. Then her mother declared that Nei No would be married to the one who could cure her. So, Tawpi (a kind of ogre) hearing this, came and cured her. According to her mother's promise, Nei No was married to Tawpi who took her away to his abode. But Nei No's mother was so unhappy over her daughter's marriage to Tawpi that she called for heroes who would retrieve Nei No from Tawpi's possession. Then two heroes, Pu Cil and Nan Tal volunteered for the risky mission. They set out to retrieve Nei No, following the road to the abode of Tawpi. On their way, they found the footprint of Tawpi which greatly frightened Pu Cil. So leaving Pu Cil there on the way, Nan Tal alone went on and arrived at the place where Tawpi lived with Nei No. Then Nan Tal made a secret contact with Nei No and asked her to prepare herself so that she could follow him home. One day Tawpi fell asleep. Then Nei No put a bean *gatang*, into the hole of Tawpi's ear so that Tawpi could not hear. She followed Nan Tal going back home. On their way back Nan Tal and Nei No took rest by a mound and where they ate their lunch, *sunsiah*. In the mean time Tawpi woke up and looked for Nei No. Learning that Nei No went away with Nan Tal, he at once followed her trail and overtook her at the place where she and Nan Tal took rest. Then suddenly Tawpi changed himself into a bee (*khuai-mu*) ready to make his attack on Nan Tal. At that critical moment *pasiante unau*, god brothers, discussed as whom should be favoured, either the *miliam* (referring to Nan Tal) or the *saliam* (referring to Tawpi). They, the god brothers, decided that the *miliam* (Nan Tal) should be favoured, because the *miliam* offered to *pasiante* and *lungzai* whenever he ate and drank, but the *saliam* ate and drank in haste without first offering to them. Then the *pasiante unau* prevailed and warned Nan Tal, sheathed his sword and smote the flying bee into two pieces. Nan Tal at Once uncontinued their way to home. At the place where Nan Tal left Pu Cil behind, they were met with the *Leinuaite*, the under-world people who coveted Nei No, and this ensued a magical fight with the *leinuaite*. But the Nan Tal lost to the *leinuaite* with the result that Nei No was annexed and carried down to the under-world. The story goes to tell the magical contest between Nan Tal and the *leinuaite* in the under-world. The story goes on to tell the magical contest between Nan Tal and the *leinuaite* in the under-world.

46. Latourette, *The Chinese*, 550.

47. Ibid.

manifestation with the individual fate of man⁴⁸, *lungzai* was the owner and the controller of all the earthly things. According to its primitive conception, *Pasian* represented a living divinity and it looks like the messenger of a higher deity dwelling somewhere in the celestial space, but not in the highest. It had always revealed itself as a personal force in contrast with the idol deity of To (Tao in Chinese) which resided in the most high place.

It was only in the beginning of the present century that the conception of the *pasiante unau* developed into *Pasian* like a Supreme Being. It was Pau Cin Hau who proclaimed that the *pasiante* were only one God. He announced that *Pasian* was the Supreme Being who created the universe. Since the time onwards, the *Pasian* in tradition was distinguished from all other forms of divine beings where *Pasian* stood for God and all other living divinities were collectively referred to as *Dawi*, in similar sense with *khua-chia* in the Lai pattern of language, and *kuei* in Chinese, meaning evil spirits or demons.

Dawi was held responsible for all forms of sickness. The belief in it and the attempt to propitiate it or other ways to control or to ward it off were religious function of Zo custom in the time Pau Cin Hau was born to the Sukte family at Tedim capital in 1859 A.D. From the year 1888 to 1902, Pau Cin Hau suffered a long severe illness. Beginning from 1900 he began to claim that he received a series of communications in dreams and visions which he held to be divine. He ascribed this divine revelation to that of Pasian. He claimed and proclaimed that Pasian was the Supreme Being who had created the universe and who could cure all sickness. What were revealed to Pau Cin Hau are recorded in his own verbatim as follows :

.....I saw many races of people flocking together in a huge plain. Then there appeared a being who came riding the Sun as a horse, the bridle and other trappings of which glittered like gold. Then I shouted, 'Behold and obey the order of God' and while all bowed themselves to the earth he called me by name twice in succession 'Pau Cin Hau, Pau Cin Hau, will you worship me'? I said 'who are you?' and he replied, 'The Lord who made heaven and earth, men and animals, the sun the moon and the stars and who has power to cure all sickness'⁴⁹.

I had faith in him and in a moment was cured from my illness of fifteen years. During those years for the cure of that illness I had paid the sum of Rs.400/- in making sacrifices of various kind of animals to the nats or demons. The cure of God was complete and cost nothing.

48. A tale relating to Pasian cult is told as this : In an olden time, a child was born and the *pasiante unau* discussed as to how should be the fate of the new born child and they laid down that the child should die of being bitten by tiger. Then, the child's parents knowing the fate of their child kept the child at home and strictly prohibited the child going out of the house. As times passed by the child grew up into his manhood and married. So a woman to use pestle was added to the family which only one pestle. One day his father went into jungle to fetch wood for pestle (suk), where he met a tiger and fought with it. Luckily he prevailed and was able to kill the tiger. The news of that incident reached the home and this news plunged the family into confusion. While the family was in panic the pre-destined son slipped off the house to help fight with the tiger in jungle. To his surprise, the son found the tiger lying dead. In his delight, the son touched and felt the tiger's whisker with his fingers. So he was infected with the poisonous germs of the tiger's whisker and eventually died with the germs. (Personal interview with the late Gin Lian, Yangon, 1979).

49. Green, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XI, Part-I. - Report, 217.

Pau Cin Hau boldly and ceaselessly preached about the attributes of the divine which he claimed to have revealed to him. He identified the revealing deity with Pasian and declared that *Pasian* had commanded him to abolish Zo traditional sacrifices to *Dawi*. Indeed, he was able to practically abolish the sacrificial customs not only in Tedim area, but also in Falam area. He won converts numbering 26,000 in Tedim area and 9,700 in Falam area⁵⁰. Pau Cin Hau made the contrast between the old custom of sacrifices and the new cult as follows :

Another old custom of the Chins was that of attempting to discover the particular nat which caused an illness by feeling the pulse or reading the countenance of the sick person. The nat, when discovered, was propitiated and petitioned. We now pray to the One God.

The adherents to the Pasian cult are still survived in Tedim area and organized themselves into congregations which they give the name *Laipian Pawlpi*, Laipian Church. The title *Laipian* refers to Script (Lai) which Pau Cin Hau claimed to have been given been *Pasian*⁵¹. They have their own Church building where they assemble on every Sunday to worship *Pasian*. The cultic belief is reviewed and modified to suit with the changed condition of the time. Folk elements pertaining to *Dawi* are discarded, but the custom of drinking *Zo-zu*(local wine) is still retained in the same practice as the Roman Catholic Church in Chin State allow drinking alcohol. They pray to *Pasian* in the same style as the Christians are doing. Laipian hymnal songs are composed in the folk tune. The Pasian which revealed to Pau Cin Hau had prescribed no social code to govern the social relationship. So they have to incorporate into the cult the existing moral precepts that were taught and handed down through generations. *Pasian* was installed as the law-giver to the Zos.

The Cult believers contend that there is only one God who gives religions to each of people to suit with specific feature of their respective traditions and cultures. In that case, they believe, God in His deity as *Pasian* gave a religion to the Zo people through His prophet Pau Cin Hau, the Mohammed of the Zo people. They refer the authenticity and authority of their faith and belief to *Pasian* as revealed through Pau Cin Hau in history. What the Laipian *Pasian* contrasts with the Christian *Pasian* is that the Laipian Pasian had not revealed itself as the symbol of love for the Zos. Neither made it known itself to Pau Cin Hau that the moral laws of Zo society belonged to it. So many of its believers forsook the cult and turned to Christianity. Only God may know what the revealing deity to Pau Cin Hau really was. Tradition makes it certain that Pasian was a living divinity which was actively involved in the Zo human affairs.

Whatever the origin and the development of the Pasian cult may have been, it is difficult not to recognise that Zo Christianity owes great indebtedness to the religious revival led by Pau Cin Hau. His teachings had far-reaching upon the theological

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., "In 1902 I had another dream. In this dream I saw an Englishman who appeared to me to be divine. He wanted me to learn lessons, taught by means of stones in the shape of letters, which put together formed a book. I tried to learn the same and eventually succeeded and my eyes then opened."

"When I got up from sleep my passion for learning and teaching the symbols and sounds of alphabet was so great that I could not sleep either day or night until I had written them out on paper. Though the Deputy Commissioner of Chin Hills advised me to have my invention printed I was not satisfied with it and revised it more than once-the third and last revision being carried out in 1931".

development of the people in the areas of Falam and Tedim. The marked change that was brought about by the Pau Cin Hau's teachings is that *Pasian* was clearly distinguished from *Dawi*.

Christianity was brought to Chin Hills in 1899 A.D., the time Pau Cin Hau received the 'divine revelation'. In Tedim area the propagations of *Pasian cult* and Christianity went side by side whereby the *Pasian* cult gained more rapid growth while Christianity prepared for the long run. So an author writes, "Christian missions have made many converts and in a late cult known as Pau Cin Hau indigenous and Christian religious concepts have been mingled"⁵². Whatever the cult of *Pasian* in tradition may have been, the revealing *Pasian* through Pau Cin Hau looks really like the messenger of God and Pau Cin Hau looks like John the Baptist, crying in the wilderness, "preparing the way of the Lord making His paths straight" (Mk:1:3).

The Belief of Sha

Tradition pictures man's spirit not only as feeble and susceptible to demonic influence, but also as a mortal one. If one were to survive alive in this world he needs to be strongly equipped with the kind of spirit that is far superior over other spiritual powers with which he lives side by side; he should have to withstand the test of his spiritual fitness. What strengthens his spiritual life is called SHA in Tedim. The same idea is called *Phu-Hrin* in the Lai belief. Every person is believed to have his *Sha*. If one is with his *Sha* or if one's *Sha* is strong enough he is supposed to be successful in his life struggle; he would prevail in his parallel existence with other natural powers. Lion and tiger are also believed to posses *Sha*. It is said that the tiger which is dispossessed with its *Sha* could no longer catch wild animals and in such event the dog and eventually man could become the prey. This belief is sometimes applied to non-human being, too. For instance teak tree, millet, and some other powerful beasts are considered to be possessed with the kind of *Sha*. The *Sha* of these natural powers are, however, viewed as being related with demonic power. They exist like the owner or controller of nature. Their efficacy could bring to man bad effects unless propitiated and observed⁵³. The efficacy of some animal powers are believed to be even capable of causing death to one⁵⁴. The power of *Sha* in man can be likened to that of *So* in Karen⁵⁵. This Karen belief of a supernatural force is related with another form of force called and spelt *pgho*, an impersonal force residing both in men and things. This force is an unknown power which can not be overcome. *Pgho* may reside in certain individual, who by its aid, are able to accomplish unusual task. This force is also spoken by the Karen as revealing itself in the infinite attributes of Y'wa, the eternal God⁵⁶.

52. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Micropaedia), V:555.

53. When such powerful beasts as elephant, bison, lion and tiger, wild pig, goat-antelope, etc. were obtained the occasion was observed by the whole village in abstaining from going to the field lest the crops might decay. This animal *Sha* is termed *Shak* in Tedim and the rite of observing it is likewise called *Shaktang* where *tang* means observing.

54. Millet, a traditional crop is regarded as a sacred and noble crop. It has rigid taboos and restrictions in dealing with it. For example, while the crop is harvested, no one is allowed to come into the field. If the rules are not strictly observed, it is believed, its yield may decrease. It is also believed that obtaining too many of wild beasts like goat-antelope(*saza*) is portentous of bad result, even of causing death to the one who obtained the game.

55. Ignatius, *The Karen people*, 220; "As long as the *So* is strong, it serves as the individual guardian angel; and the remians immune both from the attacks of the seven fold K'la and from the magic arts of witches and necromancers. However Powerful the charm that may be employed against him, his dominating *So* will ward it off; but if his *So* should become weak, he will soon lose his immunity".

56. Ibid., 210.

According to tradition, murder (*Tual-thah* in Tedim and *Lainawng* in Hakha) is the killing of one's own tribes. The act of murder is not merely considered as crime, but regarded to be an immoral act accountable to divine retributive punishment. So the act of murder had always been taken and interpreted as befalling misfortune upon the one who commits the act. Accordingly the act was ascribed to the absence of *Sha* in the person of the murderer. The Tedim usage relating to such an immoral act or wrongful deed usually goes to say, "A *Sha* in *pai*" (his *Sha* forsakes him), "A *Sha* in *nusia*" (his *Sha* leaves him alone), and the like. This tradition suggests that when one is with his *Sha* or his *Sha* is effective, he is supposed to be able to withstand against committing crimes or wrongful deeds and he could even surpass demonic power; his soul may live in peace and harmony with his body. But when his *Sha* is weak or he is without *Sha*, he is supposed to be vulnerable to demonic attack and liable to commit immoral acts. This spiritual manifestation in man seems to identify *Sha* as somewhat like an ethical force. This can be likened to the Polynesian *Mana*.⁵⁷ Sometimes, *Sha* was analogous with *Vang* similar to 'air of important'. *Vang* manifests itself as a social prestige which is derived from one's accumulation of wealth and the authority to rule over others. Sometimes *Vang* is also viewed as being associated with the force of effectiveness.⁵⁸

In the true sense of tradition, *Sha* was not expressive of social prestige in terms of wealth and fame. The outcome from the power contest between the *Vang* of *Mang Sum* and the Whirl Fire shows that *Sha* was neither the kind of supernatural force.⁵⁹ But it manifests itself as a moral force. However, it looks as if *Sha* generates *Vang* as dynamo generates electric energy. *Sha* is capable of entering into man and going out again as it wills. It is a spiritual energy which works to affect everything that is beyond the ordinary power of man. It is present outside the common processes of nature and in the atmosphere of human life, attaches not only to persons but also to things and situations. It is of neither human spirit though exists in association with man; it is somewhat like a super human force and resembles the Christian 'Spirit' which mightily came upon man (Judg. 14:6).

What is commonly understood as 'ancestor-worship' in the western literature is the rite of sacrifice to the Ancestor-*Sha* called *Pu-Sha*, *Pa-Sha* in Tedim. One usually refers to his benefactor or blesser as *Ka-Siam*, *Ka-Sha*. *Sha* is here analogous with *Siam*, benefactor. The Tedim belief involves that the ancestor-*Sha* could bestow blessings upon his descendants, but sometimes harmful unless offered sacrifice. *Pu-Sha*, the object to which sacrifice is offered has been generally understood as something like the spirits of the ancestors. An analytical study tends to points out that *Pu-Sha* was not the personal

57. Encyclopaedia Britannica (Macropaedia), 14:1047;

'..... and is manifested by results which can only be sacred to its operation. The apprehension of this ethically neutral sacredness, a spiritual dynamic power, which in some context, might readily be translated as Luck, in others perhaps as 'strong effectiveness' was regarded as the Psychological basis of religion.'

58. After the pacification of Chin Hills, the British Government recognized *hau cin Khup* as the legitimate heir to the Kamhau chieftainship. The administrative authority that *Hau Cin Khup* execized under the colonial rule was so strong and effective within the Tract that the chief was looked upon as the most powerful ruler under heaven and was feared very much. In reference to this strong administrative authority, a Tedim saying goes as thus; "The stool of whom the Chief *hau Cin Khup* scolded harshly could transmuted into its lique form" (11Pu *Hau Cin Khup* in mi khatpeuh nase tak-in tai gawp leh, tua mipa a eek tui zo phial, ki ci hi").

59. See footnote 43. "Supernatural power against *Mang Sum* 'Vang'".

spirits of the immediate ancestors. A comparative study of other related beliefs supports this view. *Pu-Sha* had referred to the deity to which the ancestors offered sacrifices. The name represents the 'gods of ancestors' like 'the God of your fathers' (Exod. 3:15).

In Tedim, lion, tiger, and leopard are collectively termed *sa-hang* meaning the 'brave beast' or 'the fierce animals'. These are believed to be associated with spirit which is referred to as *Sa-hang Sha*. In Burmese it is simply called *nat* (spirit). The Sahang were believed to possess an infinite knowledge. So people dare not curse a roaring lion even from a distant place, because tradition says, "Some winged creature may tell the matter" (thote in ko thei). The very name Sahang is so dreadful that people dare not call them by the literal name. So they are addressed to *Pu* meaning lord or master. There are sayings to be observed in dealing with them. As a traditional rule, under any circumstances, tigers were not to be killed. They should be killed only if they violate the traditional vow in which they would not catch men and their domestic animals. Whenever a tiger is caught, its dead body is treated like that of man. A feast is given in commemoration of the event of its death. In fact, the feast is meant celebrating the game, but the feast is called 'the tiger funeral' (*Sahang vui*) in a guise to make the other tigers believe that the dead tiger is honoured otherwise the other tigers might revenge upon its killer. Some peculiar formation of clouds is usually interpreted as the manifestation of *Sahang-sha* in the same idea as the Hebrew tradition has cloud as the symbol of the glory of the LORD (1Kgs. 8:10,11.). It was usually raining on the tiger's funeral day. This was taken as the rain attending the funeral ceremony. The Tedims use the custom of swearing by the Truth where a false witness would be eaten up by the tiger. This custom even reminds one of the incident where the LORD uses a lion to kill the prophet who disobeyed His command. (I Kgs. 13:20-26).

To make this subject clearer, a brief comparative study of other related beliefs will be made. There is mention in the Lahu source of the same pattern of belief in a similar deity called *G'ui-Sha*, the word for Supreme Being. Relating to this Lahu term, Rev. J. H. Telford, an American Baptist Missionary in Loimwe describes the attributes of *G'ui-Sha* as follows :

From our study of Lahu traditions, which teach both religion and ethics, it is apparent that the source of their ethical laws is monotheism. The same laws that prohibit idolatry - there is no trace of idolatry among the Lahuhs - also prohibit adultery, theft and murder. The age-long worship of this moral, ethical Being *G'uisha*, who imparts and gives his divine approval of these ethical laws, has been the principal controlling factor in the creation and maintenance of public opinion which has been a constant check to immoral conduct⁶⁰.

Now, this study finds out that *G'uisha* in Lahu and *Sha* in Tedim commonly bear the same spiritual character in the sense that both were looked upon as a moral being and also in the fact that both are similar in terminology. Both are like the Holy spirit in Christian belief.

What has been discussed in connection with the belief of *Sha* impresses one to conclude that the Tedim term *Sha* as in *Pu-Sha*, the Lahu term *G'uisha*, and the Karen So or *Pgho* probably had a common root of belief. The Laws title *Poo-sha* is more akin to the Tedim *Sha* in terminology except that *Poo-Sa* represents the deity of mountain⁶¹.

60. Green, *Census of India*, 1931, 216.

61. Wales, *The Mountain of God*, 96,97.

These are also similar to the Aryan term Sha as in Puru-Sha⁶² (World Spirit) and Moksha⁶³ (spiritual emancipation). It is not known whether the term Sha for the belief was borrowed from the Aryan source in the same manner as the word *kaam* was borrowed by the Tedims. But the possibility of its relation to the attributes of Y'wa in higher because the Tibeto-Burman cultures took their common source from Y'wa in Karen, Zo or Zwa in Tedim, and Pha-Jo in Tibetans.

The Belief of Sign

Religion is, in its strict sense, the recognition on the part of man, of some unseen power as having control over his destiny. This recognition is indicated by his practical life, resulting from this belief. Zo people, too, believe in the existence of the one who controls the future events, and this power is believed to have disclosed itself through the medium of natural events. Accordingly, any significant event in nature, dream symbols, the result of casting lot, and the like are thought to be the "sign" that uncovers the mystery of what might lie ahead. Thus, almost everything that happened significantly was looked upon as the sign of nature event whether good or bad omen. Scholars would describe this belief as superstitious belief.

What this study is most concerned is not to evaluate that Zo believes, but to observe how Zo interprets natural movements for their prophetic life. To the Zo belief not all but some natural movements appear not just as a freak of nature, but as a sign of divine activities which exert great influence over their daily life. For instance, when a traveller accidentally hurts his right toe against any hard object, this accident is interpreted as good omen; but it is a bad sign the toe that is hurt is the left one. This sign is called *heek* in Tedim. When a traveller on his way sees a snake crossing the road, this event is considered to be a sign of bad luck in the journey. By nature hen do not crow. Inspite of this, if a hen crows, it is interpreted as a sign of bad omen portentous of shameful news particularly relating to illegitimate pregnancy, called *zawl-gai* in Tedim. There are many instances of such belief relating to sign.

The most influential sign is dream. Until today, dreams have always been believed to be divine revelation for the future course of events that had played a dominant role in the prophetic life of the Zo people. The one who had good dream is *mang*, and *mangpha* or *mangtha* is used for good wishes in Zo social life. Whenever two persons are about to part, they usually exchange words of fare-well in which they say, "Mangpha man ni ei" meaning "Let us dream good dream". It is *Chin* custom that travellers regardless of whether familiar or not are received as guest and are lodged in any house of any village at they came. When the guest and the host are to part for bed in the night, the host uses to say, "Mangpha hong matsak aw" meaning "dream good dream for us". Then the guest usually say in response as a good wish for his host, "Hi ta hen o", "Let it be so". So *Mangpha* has similar sense to "good-bye" and "good-night" in English culture.

62. Havelli, *A History of India*, 29.

63. *Ibid.*, 27-28.

Prophetic meaning has always symbolism in the same tradition in which 'the sheaves of grain' and 'the moon and stars' are interpreted as the symbols of Joseph and his brothers (Gen. 37:5-11). However, interpretation of dream symbols varies according to the differences of individual experiences of dreams in the past. In most cases, interpretations are made in the light of the literal sense of the symbol concerned. For example, 'darkness' as dream symbol is taken to be the symbol of one's gloomy future, the unhappy and 'unpleasant state of plight whereas 'light' represents the omen of bright future. As dream symbol, personal names are also taken in the literal meaning that the name bears. Where a symbol is a good dream for one, the same symbol may be a bad one for another one.

And, again, tradition contains the rites of divination. It is supposed that man might be able to reveal the future by means of certain rites. Accordingly, a variety of curious rites have been employed in this attempt. The simplest form of these methods is the rite of tossing stone in the air.⁶⁴ Even today, this rite is still retained in the form of 'lot'. Whenever such important undertakings as journey, hunting, raid, revenge, and so forth, were contemplated these were preceded by divinations. The rite relating to such an important matter involves the sacrifice of a victim which was mostly pig. The liver of the victim was read by the diviner. If the liver is found congested or in a way abnormal, it was read as ominous that the intended undertaking was unpropitious and was often abandoned. This rite is called *salam-en* in Tedim. In the case where the contemplated undertaking was related with the interest of the entire community, the divination was administered at the village altar.

According to the Suante chronicle, Khua-ugen village (now abandoned) between the present villages of Phu-nom and Thung-nual was founded from Kalzang by Phung Lai. The chronicle says that Phung Lai looked for a place suitable for a settlement. While he was at his proposed site, there came a voice which said, "Phung Lai". Then Phung Lai answered and said, "Here am I: if there is any one who wills me to settle here, let this site be dry tonight". The chronicle records that Phung Lai saw in the morning his desired place being dry indeed. Phung Lai made a new settlement there which he gave the name Khua-ngen meaning the village that was asked for.⁶⁵

64. A piece of stone slab is taken; one side of it is made wet and the other side dry. After making choice, either 'wet' or 'dry', by any of two persons or sides, the stone is tossed into the air. What is inquired is how the stone fell down on the ground, giving either 'wet' or 'dry'.

65. Nginh Suan, *Kalzang Suante Beh Khang Tangthu leh Khang Ciamehna*, 1978, 49.

3

Concept of Man and His Spirit

The Spiritual Man

According to the Tedim terminology, human being is termed *mi-hing* which is *mi-nung* in Haka. In the same principle, animal is termed *gan-hing* and green wood is referred to as *sing-hing* in contrast to *sing-keu*, dried wood. All this dialectical usage points to the fact that *hing* generally refers to the state of living life botanically and biologically as well in contrast to the state of being dead. The *hingna* or *hin'na* in its noun form begins at the moment of its conception in the womb and it (life) operates in its fullness only after the birth. The Haka reference to child- birth as *hring* (same with *hing*) is more exact in describing the sense. Accordingly, offspring is termed *Hrinsor tesa* in Haka¹. The living of life is again indicated by the pulse beat and the breathing of life. This state of living is termed *nung* or *nungta* in Tedim in contrast to the state of being dead (*si* in Tedim). Hense the term *nungta* has its meaning in relation to the state of being dead. The Hakha term *mi-nung* for human being clearly distinguishes the biological life from the botanical life. A renewed life like the life of a transplanted tree is described by *hing* in Tedim and this term is applied to the 'resurrected life of Jesus Christ'². So it can be concluded that the living of life in general is *hingna* and human life is termed *nungtana* or *nun'takna*. This term is applied to all biological life in general.

The Tedim vocabulary again contains two significant terms for human spirit: *Kha* and *Tha* (the latter pronounced *hta* probably the same term with *Thla* in Hakha). What is called ghost in English is termed *Si-kha* in Tedim dialect and *Ci-tha* in Sihzang and

1. Rev. David, Van Bik, *English-Chin (Haka) Dictionary*, (Yangon: Mon-Karen Printing Press, 1987.)
"Offspring"

2. "Jesus was alive" is translated into Tedim as "Jesu hing kik hi" (Lk. 24:23).

Khuano dialects. These two words, *Kha* and *Tha*, have always been considered to be the same word for the same meaning in their variant forms. But the finding of this study suggests that the two words were parallelly handed down in reference to two distinguished senses. The prefix *si* in *Si-kha* denotes dead and the suffix *kha* denotes spirit. So *Si-kha* refers to the spirit of the dead. On the other hand, the prefix *ci* in *Ci-tha* refers to the fleshly nature which is described as *ci leh sa* or *pumsa* in similar sense to the Hebraic term *basar* meaning physical body in contrast to spirit or soul. All this point clearly indicates the distinction between *Si-kha* and *Ci-tha* in tradition where the latter refers to some what other than ghost, the spirit of the dead person. In order to make the idea clearer, a comparative study of the traditional concept in relation to other non-Zo sources may need to be made.

Like soul and spirit in English and *Kha* and *Tha* in Tedim, the Karen source, too, has *K'la* and *Tha* which are distinguished, each of which represents separate concept. As translated by Rev. Marshall, *Tha* is soul, the seat of moral nature endowed with conscience; that is the power apprehending right or wrong, with personality that persists after death. It is responsible and is judged for the acts in the flesh. *K'la* is, on the other hand, associated with one's physical existence. It is the life principle (shade) of human being. It is the force that keeps one alive and well. *K'la* comes from a previous existence to inhabit the body at the time of birth and departs into a new existence at death; so also it leaves the body for brief periods and at frequent intervals, as during sleep. By comparison with this Karen source of tradition, the Tedim *Kha* and *Tha* can also be distinguished.

During sound sleep or during the state of being unconscious, the physical body keeps on beating its pulse and breathing its respiration, the sense organ is at rest; the body lies unconscious; the *kha* or *tha* keeps away from the body. When the man is awake, his consciousness is restored, or when his consciousness is restored, the man is awake. This fact shows the sense organ is associated with the conscious life of the man. This consciousness is *lungsim* in Tedim, similar to mind in the physiological sense. People believe that the *kha* or *tha* goes to the place or to the one of whom he is mindful. *Lungsim* is again the immaterial element which feels and thinks. So the biblical term 'spirit' (John 5:23) is translated into Tedim as *lungsim*. And, again, one is considered dead when the beating of his pulse stops and the respiration comes to an end. The moment of death is marked by the departure of life. So the event of death is described in Burmese as *a-thet-huat*, the life departs. Life is, therefore, analogous with soul which is translated into Tedim as *Kha*³. Thus the biblical term 'soul' may be equivalent to *Nun'takna kha* in Tedim; that is the life force. Now it has been evident that Zo tradition has it man as being made up of three elements: *Pumsa* or *ci leh sa*(body), *Nun'takna kha* (soul), and *lungsim*(spirit). So it can be said that *hingna* (life) becomes *nuntha*(living) when endowed with *lungsim* (spirit). Then what is that which wanders apart from the physical body? It has been said that *lungsim* goes to any place it wills. So *lungsim* (spirit) is the immaterial substance that wanders in separation from the physical body of man. This

3. "and may your spirit and soul and body be kept sound and blameless" is translated into Tedim as "Note na *lungsim*, na *kha* leh na *pumpi* uh, mawhsakna tawh a kipelhna digun,....." (1 Thessalonians 4:23). *Lung* is here heart. So *lungsim* is related with feeling.

can also be called the spirit of the living man, and can be referred to as *Ci-tha* similar to *K'la* in Karen, which inhabits the body at the time of birth and departs into new existence at death. To avoid technical difficulty, the culture term *Tha* will be employ to represent the spirit of the living man, the wandering force. In such case *Kha* will represent soul and *Tha* will represent spirit.

Tradition believes that whenever *Tha* goes out of his body the man suffers bodily illness and when it re-enters the body he is well again. When it fails to re-enter the body, the man eventually dies. So *Tha* looks like the sustainer of the life of man. This belief points out that the life and death of man is virtually determined by the life and death of his spirit. The belief goes as such that when one is going to die soon, his spirit *Tha* goes to places where he has been before and to those whom he is more mindful of. The spirit wanders not only during sleep but also during his wakefulness. In the event of the latter state of being, the man may not be aware of his spirit going out. The wandering spirit of the one who is to die soon is sometimes visible in his own shade and sometimes he took on other forms such as animals, etc. Shrew is traditionally believed to be used as the messenger of *Ci-tha* and it makes known its visit to one by shrieking which is taken as a sign foretelling the future event of death amongst his close relatives. Here is given one verse of folksong mentioning the belief.

Namcik in va ham ta zel ing e,
Ka tunnu'n phuancil hong pah ta e;
Namcik takpite nong sa hiam aw,
Von laukha namcik ka hi e.

[In the shrew I came and shrieked,
 But my mother spat on me ;

Do you, mother, make me a real shrew ?
 I am the spirit of your son,
 Come as shrew.]

Besides these, incidents relating to experiences of personal encounter with *Ci-tha* were told in different areas and many instances were reported in which the *Ci-tha* took on the form of the very person of the man. So *Ci-tha* were not only visible but also touchable.⁴ News of incidents were often circulated in which *Ci-Tha* wrestled with man

4. Mrs. Cing Za Huai relates to the author her personal experience of an encounter with a *Ci-tha* whom she identifies with the very person who died after a short period of the incident. The story goes as thus : "In an evening in 1956, I visited Pu Ngul Za Thawng's house while I was there I heard of U Zam (Thuam Zam) talking loud in his mother-in-law's house which is very close to Pu Thawng's. As it was a fullmoon day, all the environment was clearly visible. At about seven o'clock in the same evening, I alone went back to my house. On my way back, I saw a person sitting by the road side with his face hidden under his two arms being firmly clasped. Then I said as I shock him by under his shoulder, "Who are you ? But he did not respond to what I asked nor did he move either. I was mindful to the fact that the shoulder that I touched was very cold. After a while I left him there thinking that some village youngster might be there posing himself to frighthen me. I left him saying, 'You are very bad'. Shortly after I departed from him and just before I entered into my house compound, I was deadly frightened by the sudden shriek of a shrew (*Ciikpi* in Tedim). And at once I thought my head was bulging. I ran in haste to reach my house. At about ten o'clock in the same night, U Zam called on my house on his way back home. I closely observed that what U Zam wore that night was quite similar to what the man by the road side wore in the early evening. I was dead sure that I did leave him behind at his mother-in-law's house when I came out from Pu Thawng's house. As I believed and was anxious, after three years of my personal encounter with his spirit, U Zam died. So I affirm my suspicion that what I met by the road side three years ago must have really been U Zam's own shade in his spiritual body".

in the same story as Jacob wrestled with 'man' (Gen.32:24). It is also said that *Ci-tha* never discloses his face. So there is reason to suppose that the term *Ci-tha* for spirit had been originated in reference to the physical appearance of human spirit that is touchable.

Freudian theory holds dream simply as the reflection of the repressed wishes. But in Zo belief, almost all dream symbols are regarded as prophetic signs and some are taken as the shades of the wandering spirits in their entirety. Some are verified and found coincided with factual incidents⁵.

It is now found that the Karen terms *K'la* and *Tha* closely resemble the Tedim terms *Kha* and *Tha* respectively in which the Tedim *Kha* is conception. This common tradition reminds one of the Egyptian culture term *Ka*⁶ almost identical with the Chin-Karen belief. So it looks as if the Tedim *Kha*, the Karen *K'la*, and the Egyptian *Ka* were handed down from the same root.

Concept of Life

The concept of man as spirit has been mentioned as such that the physical body suffers when the spirit stays away longer than usually, but well again when it re-enters the body; if it is lost, the man dies. For instance, in Nei No myth, Tawpi takes Nei No's

5. The account of his own movement in his dream is told by Cin Khaw Thawng. There were in Suangpi village Thuam Zel, Dim Zel, and Cin Khaw Thawng who represented the symbols in the dream. Dim Zel was the mother of two children when she died of giving birth to her third child in 1960. At the night when Dim Zel fatally suffered the pain of her child birth, Cin Khaw Thawng was also present among those who attended to her, and he slept in the Dim Zel's house in compliance with the village customs. Cin Khaw Thawng said that he had a dream that night. In his dream Dim Zel asked him to fetch corn food and he brought her the food. He goes on to relate that he verified and found his own movement in his dream coincided with factual incident. Cin Khaw Thawng relates his dream as thus : "In my dream, Dim Zel said to me, 'I am very hungry; if I eat boiled corn *vaimim-cim*, I would be well at once; So, please, go and fetch the food which is now being boiled in Thuam Zel's house'. (It is the village practice to have boiled the corn for the morning meal at the previous night) Then I flew right away to fetch her desired food and alighted on the roof of Thuam Zel's house building which was roofed with slabs of stone. I removed one of them so that I could get in through the hole thus opened. I climbed down stealthily through the hole along the centre Pillar supi. At the time I reached the beam I was aware of my host awaken by my descent. So I remained silent there for a while. After a minute I knew that he slept again soundly. Then I continued my descent until I set my feet on the floor. Then I searched for the food and found that the corn meal had really been cooked. I took some out of the cooking pot and transferred it into the container that I readily brought with me. To go back with the boiled corn, I descended underneath the house which is used for the pig and cattle den. I noticed that the pigs and the cattle were seriously disturbed by my movements and ran towards the front-house. Coming back to Dim Zel I gave her the food. I was very delighted to see her eating her desired food deliciously. While I was at that moment, I was awaken by the noisy cries of mourning over the untimely death of Dim Zel".

"I was mindful of my dream symbols and I wanted to verify if any physical activity was detected in the previous night that I was dreaming. So I went to Thuam Zel's house to inquire about the matter. To my surprise I found that the slab that I removed in my dream still remained removed and the hole through which I descended still kept open. The remaining portion of the boiled corn was stale. (It is believed that the meal touched by *Ci-tha* decays). I learned from Thuam Zel that the cattle that he was aware of some physical activity". Cin Khaw Thawng thus says, "I verified my dream symbols and found it coincided with factual incident". (Personal interview with Cin Khaw Thawng, 1983).

6. Ringgen, Helmer, and Strom, Ake V., Religions of mankind - Yesterday and Today (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1967), p.53; "Ka is an extremely complicated idea of the soul, simultaneously implying such a notions as vital power, sustainer of life, double and patron spirits".

hair and places it under the slab of memorial altar; then Nei No's hair from its hiding⁷. This makes it clear that Nei No's hair represents her spirit; the placing of her hair under the slab of stone symbolizes the imprisonment of her spirit and the taking out of it from the hiding symbolizes its release from its captivity. In the Cing Khup and Ngam Bawm story, too, Cing Khup suffers from bodily illness, because Ngam Bawm keeps her hair away; Cing Khup eventually dies, because her hair is drifting with the flowing water and eventually lost⁸.

In the Tedim term, the idea of death is described as *Kha-kia*⁹ in which the suffix *kia* denotes the sense of 'fallen' or 'dropped'. So it means 'spirit fallen'. This fact clearly shows that man's spirit is viewed in tradition as somewhat like the sustainer or guardian of man's life in which case spiritual death affects physical death. Man as matter animated by soul (*Kha*) is never viewed as something subjected to the law of nature. Death is

7. The account of Nei No myth is this in brief : Nei No with her maids went into the jungle to fetch firewoods. She alone brought axe to cut hardwood. Her maids asked her to lend them the axe. But she refused to lend, saying that she had to use the axe to cut better wood as her mother asked her to do so. Her maids were, therefore, displeased with her and they collected any kind of wood that they could get and went back home with whatever they obtained, leaving behind Nei No alone who was still looking for and cutting the better ones. After obtaining enough amount of wood, Nei No loaded the firewoods in her *seeng* (a basket made with cane). Her load was so heavy that she could not rise up with it. So she needed some one to help her rise up with her load. At that time she saw someone at her yonder carrying a wooden pole. Then she requested the wooden pole-carrier to help her. Tawpi, the wooden pole-carrier, came and aided her rise up with her heavy load. As he helped her rise up, Tawpi stealthily took the hair of Nei No and placed it under the slab of memorial altar (memorial stone) at the *Mual*. Shortly after Nei No arrived home, she became sick. For a long time there was no one who could cure her. Then Nei No's mother declared that Nei No would be married to the one who could cure her. Hearing this, Tawpi came and promised to cure her. Then Tawpi went and took out Nei No's hair which he placed under the slab of memorial altar. Thus Nei No at once became well again.
8. Chin Reader (Kamhau Dialect) No 3, "Cing Khup le Ngam Bawm Tangthu". The story of "Cing Khup Le Ngam Tangthu" in brief is this : Once upon a time there were two maids who were too intimate and so loved each other that they made an oath. They swore that if they married and their first children were son and daughter, they would be married, but if they were all son or daughter they would be related as friend. The maids got married and a son and a daughter were born to them. The son was named Ngam Bawm and the daughter was named Cing Khup. The two children grew up into maid and lad. They loved each other very much. But Cing Khup was not allowed to marry Ngam Bawm, because Ngam Bawm was descended from a poor and lowly class whereas Cing Khup was from a noble and wealthy family. So one day Ngam Bawm took Cing Khup's hair and kept it by the side of a stream. Then Cing Khup became ill. Her parents declared that Cing khup would be married to the one who could cure her. Then Ngam Bawm visited Cing Khup bringing with him Cing Khup's hair back to her. So Cing Khup became well. Yet she was not allowed to marry Ngam Bawm. Then Ngam Bawm took out Cing Khup's hair again and kept it in the hiding place. When her hair was brought back, Cing Khup was well again. But she was not allowed to marry her lover. One day Ngam Bawm found that the hair was drifting away with the flowing water and he couldnot retrieve it. The hair was eventually lost with the flowing water. Therefore, Cing Khup died.
9. A stanza of Tedim funeral songs called Munzang La sings thus :
 Kha hong kia khua kha hong kia ta e,
 Vannuai siang'h khua kha hong kia ta e;
 Kha kiak mawhna khua a om le,
 Thai tawh sih mu bang zuan nuam ing e.
 [Dying, dying every one
 All men dying one by one
 No exception, every one
 Under the sky
 "Must one day die;
 Were there a place where to...
 There, with thee, dear
 Hence would I fly]

never ascribed to the destructibility of the material nature of man. Even a death caused by a fall from tree, for instance, is held responsible not to the fallen man himself nor the tree itself, but to the spirit which is believed to have owned or controlled the place where the tree grows. While the processes of nature keep on their regularity, the order of these natural processes is considered disruptable by spiritual power at well¹⁰. Any natural movement happening in a peculiar manner is viewed and observed as the revelation of some supernatural force. Nature is thus, according to tradition, subjected to divine will. Therefore, to the Zo belief, the world in which man lives appears as something that is 'spiritual or divinely natural'. This phenomenal world is the realm where man exists in relation to all forms of other spiritual and natural powers. The spiritual life of man in such a realm is conceived of as feeble and susceptible to the influence of other power; existence now and here is always threatened and insecure. When held captive, he was incapable of freeing himself. He needs the protection by charms and offerings - the offering to appease those malevolent beings to release their captured soul. Therefore, the function of Zo religious rites is to maintain the spirit and the body of man to be harmony.

Life After Death

Human spirit has been analyzed as of two forms in manifestation. These are *Si-kha* for the spirit of the dead and *Ci-tha* for the spirit of the living man. *Ci-tha* is distinguished from *Si-kha* by the point that *Ci-tha* never discloses his face which personalizes the man it represents, but that *Sikha* does not conceal his face, and he is recognizable as his real personality, but not touchable like *Ci-tha*. It is supposed that *Si-kha* is not revealed to the natural sight of every person, but to a very limited number of people. Death at home due to bodily illness is considered as natural death, but the one which took place outside the village area is termed *Gam-si* or *gam-sih*. Instances of experience have led people to believe that the spirit of those who died of accident and *gam-sih* were manifested after death.

According to all this, *Si-kha* seems to be the real soul of man which is immortal. His departure from his physical body marks the event of his death. He is the life force that continues his existence in the next world. The next life began at the moment the life departs from his body. The account of spiritual movements prior to the moment of death and the rites of funeral ceremonies¹¹ suggests that the dead does not go to his abode at once, but stays at home or in this world for a certain period of time. Tradition simply maintains that the dead goes to his abode called *Misi-khua*¹².

10. Phung Za Nang, a native of Suangpi village, was a Primary Assistant Teacher. While he was working at the Mualbem Primary School, he is said to be possessed with spirits on his way back home. Phung Za Nang usually disposes that he and his associate-spirits used to capture and ate men. He often foretells those who would die soon, and his prophecies were often found to come true. One evening, Miss Cing Za Niang of the same village happened to accompany Phung Za Nang in her return from a visit to her relatives. About a month after this accompaniment, Miss Cing Za Niang died of a sudden illness. Phung Za Nang is said to disclose that they (demonic associates) struck her at her back in the evening when he was accompanied with her. It is said that the mark of injury inflicted upon her back after her death was still identifiable. (Taken from *Suangpi Mualsuang*)

11. According to the Tedim practice, funeral rites involve that a portion of meal is set part and specially reserved for the dead during period of the time beginning from the day on which he dies. This meal is called *si-an-siah*, the meal separated and reserved for the dead.

12. Tuck and Carey, *The Chin Hills*, 1:196.

Tradition again pictures the existence of man after death as that of the real man leading the very life of man here and now; he would work ¹³; he would drink and eat; he would grow and marry there, and so on. So the life of man after death is conjectured as the continuation of the worldly life in the other realm. Whether a man is honest or dishonest in his worldly life is of no consequence in the next world ¹⁴. There is no moral code, the observance of which ensures the pleasant abode or the breach of which leads him to a miserable realm. In his life after death, one is still what he has been in his human life. If he is of high status in the world he still retains his worldly status in the next world, too. He would bring with him to his abode the materials and things that are offered and all the animals sacrificed in his honour at his funeral occasion. This belief is clearly expressed by Ngulh Khai in his folksong composed in honour of his mother at her funeral ceremony as mentioned below :

When you travel up heaven's way
Send the elephant ahead
To open your way through the bush;

Let the tigers your fences be
To ward off fear from left and right ¹⁵.

The dead is, therefore, treated like the living one. At his funeral, he is offered everything that he might be in need in his next life. So the adherence to and observance of the customary practices to accumulate social prestige and status represent the ethical system of social life here and now in consideration for the spiritual life in the next existence.

It has been mentioned that the moral conduct of a man in his worldly life has no spiritual bearing upon his life after death. At death, a man passed over to the other world, assuming his proper rank and acquiring fresh power over man he might exercise well or ill in accordance with his character in his worldly life. Tradition considers long life in this world as blessing and views it as reward for keeping the social order of the tribal community. Death, particularly sudden death, on the other hand, is considered as a terrible misfortune, and is often interpreted as divine punishment for the breach of the social order.

In this earthly world man exists in struggling for his spiritual survival, i.e., human life. Thus, according to tradition, this world is full of sufferings and pains not because of man's miserable nature but because man is spiritually weak and vulnerable to the

13. A Tedi funeral song cites;
Hong guan aw pa aw,
Kawlhei hong guan aw pa aw e;
Kawlhei hong guan aw pa aw,
Tul vt tu ning e pa aw e
[O father, let me bring,
Let me bring an axe, O father;
Let me bring an axe, O father,
I will fell the tree there.]

14. Tuck and Carey, *The Chin Hills*, I:196.

15. Ngulh Khai made great feasts in celebration of the elephants and the tigers which are esteemed as noble. He conjectured that the spirits of these noble beasts would also follow along his mother's spirit when he depicts as thus : "Lengvan tuanglam na zuih ciangin, vuisai lian dai nawksak aw; ziat leh vei a na lau leh, kamkei gawlcial in phut aw".

manipulation by demonic powers. On the other hand, the realm in which the dead lives is pleasant because *Khuazing*, the god of the earth, does not reside there. This belief gives one the impression of the abode of the dead as the realm more pleasant than that in which man lives.

Tradition has it that the dead goes to the dead village through a gate which is situated in between the earth and the dead village. This celestial gate is guarded by a mythological being named *Shah-nu* in Tedim and *Sa-nu* in Matupi. So the dead has to appease *Shah-nu*, the celestial gate keeper, so that he would be permitted to pass through the gate to the *Misi-khua*. Because of this traditional reason the killing of at least one cattle is required for one's funeral ceremony. Two pieces of the liver of the sacrificed victim are offered to the dead to bring with him to his abode. This material alone is sufficient for entering into the abode of the dead.

According to the Tedim practice of funeral custom, the body of the dead is taken in the evening of the funeral day to the grave where it is placed lying down. Then one of the dead's relatives personally offers the dead the two pieces of the cattle's liver one of which is placed in the right hand and the other one in the left hand, instructing the dead as thus:

Give the piece of the liver in your left hand to the one whom you first meet on your way, and bring the other piece in your right hand to your grandfather so and so or your grandmother so and so.

The words, 'the one whom you meet on your way' in the instruction indirectly refer to *Shah-nu*, and the words 'your grandfather and grandmother' refer to the grandfather and grandmother who have already died.

Traditional belief further implies that the dead could bring to the *Misi-khua* all that are given to him at his funeral occasion and all the riches and social prestige that he accumulated in his life time. If he had obtained many human head in this world, he is supposed to have many slaves in the next world. Relating to this belief, Vung Ngin, the wife of Suan Lam, mourned over the death of her husband, expressing her wish and belief as thus :

Kiang aw pheiphung a nem leh
Kolsa tungah tuang ve aw;
Na dang dalgua bang a taak leh
Lalhen siktui tawisak aw.

[Should thy feet fail thee, O my Lord
 Up, on thy steed ! and speed away;
 Should thy throat burn, for water thirst
 Let thy captive fetch thee drink.]

All the worldly things that he obtained in his life time are "ritually spiritualized" and dedicated to the dead at his funeral occasion. The Zo idea of eschatology is thus concerned with the need to pursuit worldly things in this world.

A man is believed to be transmuted to another form of life at the moment of his death; he keeps on hungry if he dies hungry; he puts on in the next life the clothes which

he wears at the moment of his death. So this belief involves that if one is slain, he became the slave of his victor; he remains slave until his death was avenged¹⁶. Hence spiritual emancipation of the slain by means of revenge seems to have come into practice as a duty bound¹⁷

Abode of the Deads

Carey and Tuck are the first authoritative writers on Zo tradition and culture. So what they have collected and recorded of Zo oral tradition deserve to be heeded. According to their record, the abode of the dead is simply *Misi-khua* which is of two realms, namely, *Pusi-khua* and *Sasi-khua* of which the former is the pleasant abode and the latter is the miserable abode¹⁸. One must go to the *Pusi-khua* if he dies a natural death; but he must go to *Sasi-khua* if he dies by the hands of enemy; he remains disconsolate and restless until his death was avenged by blood. He could enter the *Pusi-khua*, the pleasant realm, only when his death was avenged. He could then be as happy as those who died the natural death. Until and unless his slayer himself was slain, nothing could alter the fact and he must remain slave. So death by murder was held responsible to the person of the murder on whom the revenge was taken. In the case of a natural death, the devil *dawite* were held responsible and the revenge was taken upon the wild beasts¹⁹ which were supposed to be the possession of *Khuazing*, the supreme ruler of the earth. For that purpose, special hunting programmes in revenge were usually arranged, and when any wild beast was obtained a feast was given in the belief of setting free the spirit of the dead from his spiritual bondage. This ritual revenge is termed *Phu-tuah* in Tedim, which may literally mean the Feast of Revenge.

Relating to the place of *Misi-khua*, different sources of Zo tradition tell different routes leading to realm. For instance, the chronicle of Ramthro village says that the dead goes to his abode by climbing over the ridge of Zingmu tlang. The Hualgo source on the other hand maintains that their deads go to their abode via Rih lake (Lihli in Tedim)²⁰ on the border between India and Burma to the north-west of Falam town and

16. Tuck and Carey, *The Chin Hills*, 1:186.

17. Lance-Naik Dam Za Cin was killed by the Japanese at the bridge near Nyaunglebin in Pegu Division during the second world war. The revenge for this death was taken on the Japanese troop which encamped in the outskirt of the Suangpi village. A ritual ceremony of victory over the Japanese was performed in the hope that the enslaved spirit of Dam Za Cin might be released. Phut Za Cin who was duty bound to take the revenge, recalled the spirit of Dam Za Cin, saying "Come back home, Oh ! Dam Za Cin, Do not any longer fetch water for others; do not any longer cook for others; we have now avenged for your sack;"

18. Tuck and Carey, *The Chin Hills*, 1:186.

19. Relating to the revenge upon wild beast, Ngulh Khai has said as this :

Ka len' lai-a Lunmang tongsuah ka hilna,
Kawlciang tungah baang ing e;
Kawi leh ka von ka sialna lung ka hehna,
Sangmang duangah siak ing e.

[I engrave on my gun my remembrances
Of what the government has conferred on me
In the prime of my life;
I wipe off my grievances
For my beloved wife and sons
Against the dead body of the noble beast].

20. The legend of the Rih Lake is said as such that the noble beasts like the aging elephants and rhinoceros used the great lake for their grave.

to the south- west of Tedim town. The Tedim source, again, has it that the dead goes to his abode somewhere beyond a river²¹.

The river that the tradition refers seems to be Manipur which flows from north to south in between the Thangmual and Inbuk mual. The present villages in the west side of Manipur river were founded from the east side where Zo culture took the Tedim pattern. The Tedim idea of the river rope suggests that the deads from the Tedim(old villages) were, perhaps, conjectured to go to the *Misi-khua* by crossing the Manipur river. In support of this tradition, the legend from the *gun-gal*, that is the country beyond the river, mentions that the deads on their way to their abode sharpened their knives *temta* and swords *namsau* on a stone which is on the road called Law-keh. So according to the Tedim belief, the dead goes to his abode by crossing the Manipur river and through Law-keh. But there is no mention of whether the deads from the Tedim area joined those from the Falam area at the Rih lake, nor is there any mention of Rih lake representing the *Misi-khua*.

A brief study of tradition relating to the place of the *Misi-khua* points to the fact that no place in Chin Hills or on earth was identified with the village of deads. What is commonly shared is that the deads go to their abode from their respective villages via different routes - the deads from Ramthro via Zingmu tlang, from the Hualngo area in Falam township through Rih lake, from Tedim area via Law-keh, and so on. Based on all this tradition, it can be derived that the *Misi-khua* lies beyond the present Chin Hills. In fact, the name *misi-khua* is so plain and too simple that the name might have been a very lately invention. The Tedim poetic form of literary makes it clear that sky or heaven represents the abode of the deads. So it should be taken that the *Misi-khua* lies somewhere in the celestial space, regardless of whether the 'old idea of a home of the dead underground' was, under the new influences of a sky god transferred there.

To search for the whereabouts of the *Misi-khua*, one has to consider the poetic term used to describe death. In the "Cing Khup and Ngam Bawm Epic", Ngam Bawm uses the word *mal* in referring to the death of Cing Khup²². Here, the word *mal* literally means death. The Tedim custom of funeral, on the one hand, includes the rite called *mal-tang*²³ in which *tang* is 'to own' or 'to belong to'. It also means to observe, to commemorate, and the like. So *mal-tang* would mean either 'to own *mal*', 'to belong to *mal*' or 'to observe in commemoration of *mal*'. Actually the rite is the consecration of one with all his belonging to *mal*.

21. The Tedim funeral rites involve the offering of a rope made with the material of cane plait *naangkhau* to the dead. The cane-rop is named *gun-khau*, the 'river rope', by the aid of which the dead is supposed to cross over a river on his way to his abode. This 'river rope' closely resembles the Tibetan 'mu rope' by the aid of which the celestial kings ascended their abode in the sky. It is very likely that the 'mu-rope' tradition was later transfigured to be associated with the river which may have appeared to the Tedims as a great natural barrier to go to its beyond.
22. Ngam Bawm says, "Cing aw na mal nua'n, na tun lungmawl in, ka Sial Cing tawh lai tawi tan aw ci". This means "Oh Cing, my love, after your death, your helpless mother induces me to marry her daughter Sial Cing".
23. The dead body was kept at home for a certain period of days. In the evening of the first day of the funeral, a rite is specially administered by sacrificing a fowl. The village priest recites, "Vompi ka kap mal na tang in, ngaltang ka kap mal na tang in,.....". This means, "Let the bears that I have shot be owned in the Mal; let the wild pig I have shot be owned in the Mal".

Now, again, the Lushei source maintains that the dead goes to *Mar* or *Marna*²⁴. This closely resembles the Burmese *Mrna* (pronounced *Ma-ra-na*) meaning death in Sanskrit, into which Dr. Judson translates the biblical term referring to death. On the other hand, what the Burmese source describes and pronounces *Mal-nat*, but written *Mar-nat* reminds one of the biblical idea of Satan falling down from heaven (Lk.10:18). It is not certain whether *mal* and *Mar* are the variants of the same term. Both terms, anyhow, refer to the same idea; that is the idea of death. The Burmese *Mal-nat* suggests its associated sense with a kind of celestial being or immortal being which inhabits the *Mal* or *Mar*. Now the search for the location of the realm of *Mal* has not ended here as yet. A further study needs be made as to where the realm of *Mal* locates.

The Tedim custom of offering the 'river rope' to the dead suggests its traditional relation to the Tibetan 'Mu culture' in which the deads were believed to ascend the mu (sky) by the aid of the 'mu rope'. The belief of sky as the abode of the deads is strongly supported by the Lai usage *mu-thla* for spirit or ghost. This word literally means 'sky spirit'. Hence celestial being. Accordingly, most of the Tedim funeral songs identify sky or heaven as the home of the dead. One stanza of the Tedim folksong locates the *Misi-khua* somewhere between heaven and earth.

Lengvan vangkhua aw a nuamzaw'm aw,
Simlei Vangkhua aw a nuamzaw'm aw;
Simlei leh lengyan a kikalah,
A si hawlsuang zah'n ka sia hi e.

[City in heaven and that on earth
 Where would I rather be ?
 Between heaven and earth, my dead
 Many as pebbles, have I heaped.]

What have been mentioned so far in regard to the home of the deads seem to suggest *Mal* as the symbol of *Misi-khua* which locates somewhere in the celestial space but not in the highest. This term is also found closely akin to *Mal-hraih*²⁵, the Matu word for Supreme Being. This in turn strikingly resembles the Hebrew term *Malkuth*²⁶. According to the Hebrew tradition, *Mal-kuth* is God's kinship or kingly rule or God's sovereignty that is prominent, and is sometimes used in the Greek New Testament to mean realm or domain in which the rule of God operates. In the same idea Zo tradition, too, pictures the *Misi-khua* as a pleasant abode where the deads live happily, because *Khuazing*, god of darkness, does not reside there. This study thus finds that the Tedim *Mal*, the Matu *Mal-hraih* and the Hebrew *Mal-kuth* are similar to one another in terminology and in idea - pleasant abode because the rule of God operates there and *Khuazing* does not reside there.

The Power of Man

Huham is a Lai culture term used to refer to the personality of a man who has 'an air of important' in appearance. It is nearly similar to the Tedim concept of *Sha*. Where *Sha* comes in from outside *Huham* manifests itself from inside of man. So *Huham* can

24. B.S.P.P., The Indigenous Customs (Chin), 285.

25. A personal interview with U Zung Daw, former Matupi Party Unit Chairman, 1984.

26. The Lecture on "The kingdom of God", by Naw Eh Wah, Burma Institute of theology, Insein.

be described as the power of man. It is interesting to study how the concept of *Huham* was originated and why it was believed as such kind of power in man. According to the Tedim terminology, the term *Huham* is the combination of two words : *Hu* and *Ham* originally having two distinct senses.

The making of a sigh or a deep breath of life is termed *hu-sang* and a breathless state of being is termed *hu-sam* where *sam* denotes lacking. It is thus clear that *hu* is what is breathed in and out. Regarding *ham*, the word has meaning according as it is variedly spoken. Relating to breath of life, *ham* is used to describe the act of yawning and also to denote animal cry in general. e.g., *Ui ham*, the dog barks, *Sakol ham*, the horse cries, and so on. The same word is used to denote curse as in *ham-siat* in the Sihzang and the Khuano forms of Tedim vocabulary. All this has shown that *hu* is what is breathed in and out, and *ham* is the expression of it. In Tedim, the idea of glory is likened to or described by the phrase, *ahu saa* where the prefix *a* is used as the 'the' in English and *saa* denotes hot like the blazing sun and the flame of fire. *Saa*, here, refers to the sense associated with some kind of energy or force. S.T.Hau Go translates *ahu* as portentous power²⁷. Fierce storm consisting of strong wind with rain and hail or thunder originates a phenomena of nature which is rightly named *Khua-hu*²⁸ by the Lai speakers in which *khua* refers to the meteoric conditions. The Tedims sometimes use *A hu a vang* for the description of portentous powers. There is, however, a great contrast between *Hu* and *Vang* in which *Hu* is viewed as of efficacy and *Vang* is viewed as somewhat like a spiritual light emanating from Sha having no efficacy in manifestastion. For instance, the Tedim belief involves that a maid whom people talk too much of her beauty could suffer from the force of it. This kind of efficacious force is termed *Mi hupi* and the sickness is called *Ling*. The one who suffers from this force is also called *Ling-tuak* or *Ling-vei*.

To make the concept of *Hu* clearer, a comparative study of other related cultures is worthwhile to be made. Hebrew tradition maintains that Rauh is God's spirit breathed

27. At one time during the British rule in Burma, a lion nick- named *Mei-tawng* that means the beast with the stump of its tails was rampant in the area of Tedim Sub-division. The short-tail lion is said to have caught not only the domestic animals of people, but also men. The name *Mei-tawng* was thus associated with a dreadful sense and people trembled at simply hearing the name. So the Government declared, the Tedim chronicles says, a reward for the cruel animal killed. Kai Cin of Pimpah was the brave man who took the reward. Relating to this popular event an unknown poet composed a folksong in which he refers the portentous power of the cruel beast as *ahu*. The song sings as thus :

*Minthang ding leh sa limlian dawn bang kituak,
Kuivum lennual a ciangah kawlciang in sawm e;
Kawlciang ii sawm zin khawi sang limlian,
ahu meii bang zaam, Thangmuual dung zil e.'*

*[On my trail to fame, I met
The coveted game of fame
At the ready with my musket
I hastened hard to claim
This noble creature of the wild.
But 'tis a well-protected ward
Of the gods of creatures wild.
Its portentous power, ahu, pervades the air
The whole Thang mountain shrouds.]*

28. A personal interview with U Khuanglan Taikual from Lumbang village, the chief staff of the Chin State Party Regional Committee, Burmese Socialism Programme Party, on September 27, 1982 at his office in Haka.

into the nostrils of man and is the breath of life. Breath is biologically defined as 'air taken into and put out from the lungs'. So it is clear that *Hu* and *Ruah* are literally air and both denote the breath of life. Air contains two kinds of gas : Oxygen and Nitrogen. Man lives on the air that contain oxygen. If this material world was devoid of oxygen there would not have been human creature on earth. The existence of God's spirit in atmosphere is symbolically described as 'air in motion' or 'wind'. Now it is more evident that air, whether of God's spirit or of chemical substance, is the energy or power which permeats the human body with life. So this study finds out that *Hu* is of the same substance with *Ruah* in Hebrew, which God breathed into the nostrils of man in His creation. Therefore, it is not known whether the Zo concept of breath (*Hu*) has had its origin and the belief of it in God's creation. It can now be derived that God's spirit does not merely animate human being, but it also empowers him. Peterson defines what God breathed into the nostrils of man as 'the motive of power'²⁹. According to him, the God's breathed-in spirit does not mean the centre of the soul, but the 'strength emanating from it and in its turn reaching upon it'. So it looks as if what God breathed into the nostrils of man was handed down as having superhuman force to be term *Huham* in the Lai form and *Ahu* in the Tedim form of Zo languages.

This point seems to be supported by the linguistical similarity between two terms : *Ruah* in Hebrew and *Ruah* in Haka in which the Haka term is pronounced somewhat like *Hrua* or *Rhua*. The Hebrew *Ruah* has been mentioned as 'spirit' or 'spirit' which belongs to God. On the other hand, the Haka *Ruah* literally means 'to think' or 'the thought of man'. For instance, the Haka phrase, *Ka-khua-ruah-a har* is translated into English by Lehman as "My spirit to think is difficult". The Haka *Ruah* is *Lungsim* in Tedim which is used to stand for 'spirit', that distinguishes man from animal. Hence *Huham* possesses an inherent force of power.

The Power of Spoken Words

Man speaks out words which carry with it idea and meaning. At the same time, names represents the quality of the object that bears it. For example, the word *thang* when used for a personal name symbolizes the idea of social prestige. Accordingly, as dream symbol, it was literally interpreted as a good omen of the future popularity of the one who dreamed it or for whom it was dreamed. In the same sense some words were believed to be associated with the inherent quality of efficacious force. For instance, the word *Zau-hang* was used for the symbol of spiritual force by which evil spirits were warded off. The myth of Gal Ngam tells a magical fight between Gal Ngam and Dawi Kungpu by exchanging words of what they wanted to make³⁰. This shows that the meanings of words and names were taken as having the quality of efficacy in their spoken forms. So it has been clear that spoken words were traditionally considered effective in

29. The lecture on "The Nature of Man", by Rev. Maran Zau Lat, Burma Institute of Theology, Insein, 1980.

30. In the magical fight, Gal Ngam says, "Dawi Kungpu aw, na tutna leh na taw kimat hen", (Oh ! Dawi Kungpu, let your buttocks be stuck to the rock on which you are sitting). Then it was so. Dawi Kungpu says in reply, "Gal Ngam aw, na sialkhau leh na khut kimat hen", (Oh! Gal Ngam, let your hand be stuck to the rope of the mithun that your are holding). Then Gal Ngam's hand was instantly stuck to the rope with which the mithun was tied. (Chin Reader {Kamhau Dialet} No. 4) "Gal Ngam tangthu").

conferring the kind of results which it describes. Spoken curse was thus to be feared because it was thought to bring the results of which it spoke.

The word 'curse' is variously described by such Tedim terms as *Sam-sia*, *Ham-siat*, *Tom-lawh*, and so forth. Rev. Kam Khaw Thang uses *Sam-sia* for curse in his translation of the Bible into Tedim. The Tedim usages for such curses are *Pul-sih in* (You should die of epidemic diseases), *Khan-sih in* (You should die young), *Na gilpi puak kham hen* (Should your belly explode), *Sahang in hong phuai hen* (should the lion tear you down), and the like. The curse upon children by the parents was believed to be most effective in bringing bad blessings as such mentioned in the Old Testament tradition. The keeping of parents in mood of being pleased by the children was considered as having the force of blessings. In this respect, Zo belief resembles the Jacobite tradition in which Issac blessed Jacob, the illegitimate heir to his house, because Jacob pleased him. (Gen.27:33).

It has been mentioned that a spoken word is an air breathed out of the lung. The breathed out air, that is *Hu*, has also been mentioned as being associated with the quality of spiritual force. So the spoken words and the breathed out air are of the same substance in nature and in belief of manifestation. According to the Old Testament tradition, when the prophets attributed their message to divine inspiration, they ascribed it as 'the word of God' that came to them. Their spoken words were considered as having divine authority. These spoken words were with the prophets and were potent because divine authority was ascribed to them, and the scripture refers it authenticity to them. To conclude, a comparative study shows that Zo concept of *Huham* resembles what is referred to as 'the inspired word or the word of God' in having spiritual force.

The Efficacy of *Huham* Spirit

Zo tradition has man as having the kind of spirit that can at times manifest itself causing side-effect upon a second person in suffering in the same idea as the 'sin' of man affects upon God in suffering. For example, if a man of strong spirit looks at a fat pig, then the pig becomes sick. This kind of human spirit is termed *Gau* in Tedim. But not every person has such kind of spirit; only very few are told to possess it.

The spirit of the one who was slain is believed to be spiritually enslaved. This enslaved spirit is considered to become efficacious causing suffering upon the living men. This force is termed *Gal-gau* in Tedim; that is the *Gau* efficacy of the enemy killed by his victor. Some snakes are also believed to have efficacy to cause illness upon man. This is accordingly called *Gul-gau*, snake-spirit. In a given family the mother's side of family is generally termed *Pute* regardless of seniority by birth. It is the social obligation to maintain the *Pute* satisfied and pleased with the *Tute*, the children of the *Pute*'s daughters. The failure to fulfil this filial duty on the part of the *Tute* may invoke the anger of the *Pute*, and this anger is believed capable of manifesting itself as an efficacious force to cause suffering upon the *Tute*. Thus in Zo cultural and social life, *Pute* is not only respected and honoured, but feared. This efficacy being originated from anger or jealousy is also called *Pu-gau* or *Sung-gau* in Tedim. All this tradition shows that *Gau* is a kind of spiritual energy or as Peterson describes, 'the motive power of soul' which is efficacious resulting in a destructive aspect unless propitiated and appeased. This destructive force of spirit is regarded as a kind of *Dawi* (evil spirits) and propitiated.

The traditional idea of *Gau* can be further analysed into two categories. The Tedim phrase, *Deihgawhna* is the wilful desire for something which belongs to others. The belief that 'a fat and healthy pig suffers if looked desirously' is attributable to one's strong desire which may be equivalent to 'covetousness'. There is another Tedim usage *Duhgawhna*. The eating and drinking by one alone in the presence of others is described as *gilnathuai*. It means that such state of thing is conducive to stomach-ache on the part of the person who eats and drinks by one alone. *Duhgawhna* can be translated as the 'lustfulness' of man. Though distinguishable, *Deihgawhna* (covetousness) and *Duhgawhna* (lustfulness) are interrelated in manifestation. The strongest force of this lustfulness is termed *Kau* in Tedim and *Hnam* in Haka.

Until today, *Hnam* is told as still existing in Hakha town, the capital of Chin State. Zo concept of *Hnam* is similar to that of the Burmese Soong or Kawai and is related to the kind of man's spirit which wanders. It is believed that *Hnam* wanders like man in search of eatable things at night; it likes to eat babies who are like 'olive shoots' in the Hebrew tradition. On their wandering, the *Hnam* are said to be visible sometimes in the form of light, traversing in the air and at times like a loaf of white cotten rolling over the ground. It is said that the spirit goes out during sleep leaving the physical body unconscious. If the original position of the bodily position is disrupted while the spirit wanders, the *Hnam* is unable to re-enter the body and as the result of it he or she eventually dies.

Some families are regarded to have descended from a particular clan or tribe called *Hnam*-caste which in Tedim is called *Khang nei* or *Kau nei nam*. Women descending from the supposed *Kau* family were despised as a low caste and were generally avoided for wife-to-be. They were believed to be most active and strong in manifestation and in efficacy. Some suppose that every man possesses element of *Hnam*, but those which are used to being propitiated developed to be more active and strong.

The *Hnam* caste was thought to be propagated generally through the female line of descent despite the male line through which the clanship was handed down. This tradition, the descent of the *Hnam* caste through the female gene strongly suggests whether the *Hnam* caste represents the racial gene of human being³¹. The British administration strictly prohibited this caste conception and a reference of the caste to any was lawfully punishable³².

31. Scientists - the genetists, claim that they found an Eve-like common ancestor whom they give the name Eve, the wife of Adam in creation. They suppose her to be the woman from the time when modern man arose. She is dated to have live 200,000 years ago. The author of the article writes, "She was simply the most fruitful, if that is measured by success in propagating a certain set of genes. Hers seem to be all human living today : 5 billion blood relatives. She was, by one rough estimate, your 10,000th - great grandmother". (*New Week*, January 11, 1979, p.38).
32. In 1949 there were in Suangpi village a man named Hau Khaw Thang from Buansing clan and a woman named Niang Vaih Cing from Suanzong clan. Hau Khaw Thang fall in love with Niang Vaih Cing who accepted his love. However, Niang Vaih Cing was induced by her relatives to forsake her lover and to marry another man named Ngul Khaw Thang of the same village. The reason given was as such that Hau Khaw Thang was from a *Kau* family. This leaked out and was passed on to Hau Khaw Thang who did neither deny nor admit the alleged reason. He traced back his descent and drew a genealogical tree based on the maternal line of descent. He identified many in Suangpi village including Niang Vaih Cing's family as relating to his family. So he (Hau Khaw Thang) stated that if he were descended from a *Kau* caste, then Niang Vaih Cing herself must have been from the same caste. This became a serious debate and developed into a lawful case. The case was brought to the court of Tedim Sub-divisional Magistrate. It is not clearly known how the case was decided as the court was greatly influenced by the political party in power at that time.

Tradition again has an element of belief that emotional attachment also becomes efficacious. For instance, the 'longing for husband' by the divorced wife has strong effect upon the person who divorces her. The belief goes as such that if the husband divorces unilaterally his wife and marries another one, he would remain unhappy with his remarried wife in his family life, possibly be childless or heirless. If a mother dies leaving her sucking child, the child suffer. So in the Tedim area, in such event the child is made crossing over the mother's dead body so that the mother might no longer be mindful of her child in the next world.

4

Zo Society

The Founding of New Settlement

The founding of new settlement was always considered to be a noble deed and the men of noble tribe alone had the legitimate right to lead in founding one. The occasion was a great undertaking and was also an historic achievement. Therefore, the ritual performance relating to the founding ceremony was held as a sacred service. A slight mistake in performing the ceremony in accordance with the prescribed procedure was believed to be the violation of divine rules¹. This was considered to have affected an adverse such historical binding upon the future generation.² The founding rites involve such historical functions as the choice of the place for the settlement, the selection of the site land, the setting up of the communal altar and pillar. The rite also includes the consecration of the water source on which the people were to live. What is most crucial is the demarcation of the sovereign territorial area within which the people were to walk in peace and in obedience to the divine status and ordinances and they envisaged them.

1. The founding ceremony of Suangpi village was followed by the ritual observance of the event for the whole night where all the participants were to abstain from speaking against what were traditionally held sacred. The village chronicle says that while all stayed in silence waiting for the dawn, Vum Tawng's wife impatient with the late arrival of the dawn, lost control of her tongue and said, "Aak teng hoh pulsih siat petmah na hi uh maw" meaning "Do the cocks all have died of plague?" (Cocks are reared and had as time indicator; their crow marks the arrival of dawn) because of that historical incident, the chronicle says, fowl breeding at the original site of the village was not successful. This belief led the people to shift the village to the place below it named Khua-nuai, the village below. (Taken from "Suangpi Mualsuang").
2. The founding prayer of Phunom village asked for the increment of the village to a number of eighty households of armed men with shields and spears. The villagers use today to say that the founding prayer did have an historical binding upon the fate of their village which could never exceed eighty households. (An interview with Tual Cin, a Phunom villager, 1982).

The choice of the place for the settlement was made probably in consideration of the climate not so cold and not so warm; that is the hilly part between the 'zo part' and the 'sim part', termed *gam-lai*. The most essential fact that may have influenced the making of choice was, perhaps, the availability of sacred objects to which to offer sacrifices. For example, ZingHmu tlang provided the Ramthro settlement with that requisite. So also the Lailun Rock furnished the Sunthla settlement with the needed sanctuary. Muchip tlang represented the sacred object for the Seipui settlement; Khulpi in Tedim area, too, may have been the influential factor in the choice of Ciimnuai for the settlement of the Tedim speakers. In similar sense the Suangpi, the Big Rock, personifies the village benefactor of the Suangpi settlement in the founding. In the Dry Delta of Burma, too, Mount Pupa and Tuywindaung may have provided the first plains-dwellers with those sacred objects. Corresponding to these sacred objects, the village altars were set up in similar tradition to "...and built an altar at the foot of the mountain, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel" (Exod.24:4). In essence, the setting up of the village altar marked the historic founding of the settlement of the Zo society which was established upon a system of moral codes regulating the social order of the new settlement.

The Tual State

Zo society is none but Chin society in its traditional sense. It is an enlarged family society with well-defined territory in which the rule of law prevails. No matter how far its territory extends and how small its population might have been, Zo society bears the characteristic feature of a state like the Greek city-state where men were equal before the divine laws. All members in the society were equal before the divine laws the breach of which was met with the divine retributive punishment. So it is a state in which the social codes are believed to have connection with an unseen power which sustains the society. It, in a way, resembles the kind of society called 'Covenant Community' in which the people of Israel were to walk in obedient to the LORD. In that sense Zo society can be best referred to as *Tual State* or *Tual Community* where the term *tual* represents the sacred nature of the congenital society. Hence, Zo society bears the character of a theocratic state where a divine power operates. This point may be seen clearer from the spiritual content that the society contains.

It is very likely that Zo ancestors brought with them the image of their Fear, the Fear of Isaac, to everywhere they moved and to everywhere they arrived at. The founding of new settlement may have meant to them the historic setting up of the communal altar where their Fear, the Invincible, may dwell. The site where the altar was set up is termed *Tual* in Tedim. *Tual*, again, symbolizes the spiritual nature of Zo. On the other hand, the ritually defined territorial area is under the spiritual influence of *Tual*. Now it is necessary to mention how far the *Tual* sphere of influence extends.

In early days, there was no definite village territory or tract as it is had today. Land were acquired and possessed by tribal chiefs in scattered areas and were transferrable from one to another. It was only in the first decade of the twentieth century that were the village tracts defined on the basis of natural boundaries. It may be supposed, therefore, that the area of early settlement place did hardly extend beyond the site of the

village. There are international boundaries which define the sovereign area of the state concerned. In the same manner, in early days the area of a new settlement was ritually defined. According to the founding rites, the intestines of the sacrifice victim was drawn around the settlement place to mark the area of the spiritual influence. The founding in the Sihzang area was made by sacrificing a mithun and in the founding of Sungpi settlement a black dong was sacrificed. The victim (dog) was made to lie down in a position facing out of the would-be village area. After the animal was made ready to be ritually killed, the village priest invoked the deity and declared thus : "Thou shall not violate the line of demarcation along which my animal's intestine was drawn around"³. Then the animal was chopped off its head and its intestine was drawn around the line marked for the village area. By this ritual act, the Tual territory was declared and defined, and the Tual State was created.

According to tradition, mankind is classified into *Khual* and *Tual* in Tedim, and *Khual* and *Lai* in Haka generally refers to non-members of the tribal society, including foreigners and enemy as well. *Tual* or *Lai* refers to the same members of the society or tribe as a whole and is equivalent to 'citizen' in the political sense. *Tual* (pronounced *twel* as in 'twenty') is, again, classified into two kinds: *Khuq-sat Tuikhuat pawl*, the descendants of the founders of the settlement, probably equivalent to 'aborigines' or 'indigenous tribes', and *Peemta* that includes 'sojourners' and 'captives' from raids, who are naturalized by tradition. By tradition, the *Tual* or *Lai* did not eat and drink together with the *Khual*. If one did so, the foreigner or enemy with whom he ate and drank together must be reckoned as the same member of the tribe and could no longer be killed or avenged upon as duty bound like enemy. This tradition was still in force at the time the British army advanced on the Chin land in 1888 A.D., and led the Haka's unconditional surrender to the advancing enemy⁴. It was Zo tradition that a *gaal* (enemy) became *tual* (citizen) in the event that he had already drunk the water of wooden trough *Kongkuang-tui* in Tedim⁵. This tradition was still in force in the Khuano area in Tedim

3. In this founding rite, the second person referred to as 'Thou' refers to Gam Tawn meaning the roaming beast in the jungle of country side, and it is lion. There is a folksong in which is mentioned a legendary event of making an agreement between Gam-Tawn (lion) and men. The song is this : "Gam-Tawn tawh tong ka ciam un e, tui leh luan in ciam ung e. Ciampel a sialtual na dawh, na khe lauluang in sun e". (When an agreement was made with Gam-Tawn, we pledged to abide by it till the event of water flowing its backward direction. Not abiding by the agreement you have caught our cattle that your feet are pierced by the *lauluang*) *Lauluang* is a kind of plant with sharp leaves. The song was sung at the occasion of the feast called *sa-hang vui*, the lion funeral where the death of the beast is attributed to lauluang's due to its failure in making men's domestic animal its prey.

4. The Zos in Haka area had already been prepared to resist the advancing column from Gangaw of the British invading army at Rungtlang ridge. At that critical time, a man named Sui Tling from Zokhua, twenty miles to the east of Haka town, sent a messenger to Haka reporting that the fight with the advancing enemy would be futile; to surrender would be much better than to resist it and die. Then, Lal Sang from Haka being convinced of the reasonableness of the report went out to meet the enemies on the way. He received them and ate and drank together with them at Bualtak village in the east of Haka. So as the belief goes, the British soldiers were to be reckoned as *Lai*(citizen) and the fight with them would be accountable as traditional crime and the fight would surely be lost. Therefore, the Haka chronicles says, the British army was allowed to set foot on the Haka Tual territory without facing the least resistance. (An interview with U Van Lian, a Haka speaker, member of the executive committee, Chin State People's Council, at his office room, on October 16, 1981).

5. Tree trunk is hewn so as to contain water and the hewn trunks are made connecting each other in line for distance to draw waters from a near by spring. The spring waters are drawn to a tank made with a big tree trunk. The hewn-trunk container is placed by the gate called Kongplai in Tedim of the house compound which is walled around. So *Kongkuang-tui* literally means the 'waters by the Gate' privately owned and drunk by the household members alone.

township at the time the Japanese occupied Tedim area in 1943-44. During the month of October in 1944, one section of the Japanese soldiers took position at the base of the Suangpi Rock, drinking the waters of the village. There arose a question as to whether the Japanese soldiers within the Suangpi Tual territory were to be reckoned as Tual. Based on the tradition itself, they were legitimized as *gaal*(enemy)⁶.

As Zo society consisted of people with different kinds of descent and social status, they were not equal in their social relationship. But, on the other hand, they were equal before the moral laws which were enforced by an unseen power, and the breach of any of these laws irrespective of social status and descent did not escape divine punishment. This belief was the prime factor that ensured the rule of law within the Tual society. There was a principle of justice governing the inter-relationship amongst the tribal societies and with the outside world. It was vengeance - the 'a tooth for a tooth' justice with the consequence that Zo history had been 'a long sequence of tribal wars and feuds'. Accordingly, such immoral acts as robbing, thieving, etc., outside the Tual sovereign area had no bearing on the moral laws in the same idea that 'sea piracy' was recognized as a lawful means of economic enterprise in England during the Victorian age. Had Carey and Tuck properly known this principle of Chin justice within and without the Tual community, they might not have succumbed to their belief that the Chins were 'liars', 'thieves', and so on; they might not have simply ascribed the heavy losses that the Chins inflicted upon the British forces by sabotages to what they describe as 'the common trait' of Chins.

Even today, the principle of vengeance is still in practice in certain areas of the Southern Chin State. According to the practice as known today, there is no distinction between what kind of revenge is legitimate and what kind of it is not legitimate. Any murder irrespective of whether it amounts to killing or not at any place by any people is avenged. According to the Tedim practice of vengeance, there was no murder in the strict sense of killing within the Tual community. Accordingly, no revenge could be taken upon the members of the community on charges of murder in the same tradition as "You shall not take vengeance or bear any grudge against the sons of your own people"(Lev.19:17,18). Revenge was legitimate only where tradition allowed.

An act of murder in the Zo society was not only considered as not avengeable, it was, instead, interpreted as a terrible misfortune because the act would surely enrage the unseen power which had been enforcing the moral laws. Hence vengeance withing the

6. By the time the Japanese soldiers entered into the Suangpi Tual territory, the village Peopl's Militia named Sukté Independence Army (S.I.A.) had been formed with its Headquarters at Mualbem under the High Commander of Pu Thawng Cin Thang. Phut Thang was the Commander-in-chief of the Suangpi S.I.A. in the formation of Home Guard armed with modern weapons issued by the Assam Rifles and the local guns. While Phut Thang was prepared to attack the positioned enemy, a messenger was sent by Pu Khan Dai of Phunom village, some five miles to the east of Suangpi, seriously warning him not to attack and kill the Japanese who took position within the Suangpi Tual area if he insisted on doing so, he would surely be committing the traditional crime, *Tual thah*. Then the tradition in context was reviewed, and to attack and kill the Japanese was legitimized on the ground that the Japanese were none, but those who had killed Za Cin and Khai Za Ngin, the sons of Suangpi, at Nyaunglebin in Pegu Division. So they resolved that Japanese were not *Tual* but *gaal* whom should be lawfully avenged. Then the plan of attack was carried out and the Japanese soldiers decamped in haste. ("Suangpi Mualsuang", p.34) Note : Khai Za Ngin returned back home alive in 1948.

same community was held illegitimate and unlawful⁷. Since there was no vengeance in the Zo society, the problems arising out of such wrongful deeds as 'murder', theft, etc. were settled by amicable means. Afflictions and losses were incurred in terms of material things. According to the Tedim custom, a murderer is fined to pay eight buffaloes, *lawi-giat*. When the system of money for exchange of goods was introduced, the fine was payable in terms of money and the fine of eight buffaloes was made equivalent to Rs. 240. The fine was considered as the most serious punishment like a death sentence of today's legal justice. The judicial system of the Union of Burma recognizes these customary laws and many of 'murder cases' in rural areas are negotiated not to be brought to the higher court.

The Concept of *Tual*

What is spoken and spelt of as *tual* has been so far freely used to denote a unique conception. The word is unique in the sense that it symbolizes the spiritual essence of Zo culture. Though the word looks to suggest, *tual* does not directly refer to the object of the sacrifice; but it refers to the place of the sacrifice. In fact it is not simply known how the word was originated and handed down. As is used today, the courtyard of a house compound is termed *inn-tual* or *lei-tual* in Tedim and *sum-tual* in the Mi-e form of Haka dialect or poetic Tedim. And again, football ground is termed *bawlung-tualpi* or *tualpi* in Tedim. On the other hand, plain region is called *zaang-lei* and plain ground is *zaang-tam* in Tedim. So *tual* does not directly refer to plains. All this points to the fact that *tual* refers to the idea of levelled ground. To make a place for *tual* in the hilly region, the hill slope is levelled by cutting it off. So *tual* has its true meaning as plain or levelled ground only in relation to hill slope around. Therefore, the term *tual* in its ordinary sense can be defined as a relatively plain ground in the hilly region regardless of its physical size. In most cases, the village altar was set up in a relatively plain ground. It is not certain whether the term *tual* referred to plain ground in origin or whether the plain ground was so termed in reference to the sacrificial altar *tchou* in Chinese, a stone tablet representing a living divinity. The village sacrifice is called *Tual Biakna* in Tedim where *biakna* is sacrifice. It is thus *Tual* sacrifice. However, the sacrifice does not merely mean the rite of an offering. In its social sense, the *Tual* sacrifice has much more bearing on the social life of the community. In that sense, *Tual* sacrifice can be translated as *Tual* religion.

According to the practical life within the *Tual* community, the term *tual* was acculturated to connote the sacredness of the community and it represented the ethical symbol of Zo society. As the name Zo was traditionally held sacred, so was the society built upon its moral foundation likewise considered to be sacred or holy. The stone altar with its precinct was conceived of as symbolizing the moral character of Zo society in which the people are linked together with the *Tual* sacrifice. With this conception in tradition, the term *tual* might have developed to connote the members of the *Tual*

7. Relating to a murder that remained unavenged, Khai Vum of Khuasak village speaks of his indignation as thus : "Ka zua nih-thum lai ngeal cing sa, zin leh do a thaam awng e; Ningtui sia ngawl phung banzaal a lautha na zezum tu zia". It means something like this : My fathers in numerical strength were perished with devils and raids; your soul may be ashamed of your death unavenged. (A personal interview with Cin Khaw Lian, a Khuasak native, 1980. Cin Khaw Lian told the author that Khai Vum composed the song in reference to the murder of one of his kinsmen that remained unavenged because of traditions.)

community. The villagers are thus referred to as Tual. But there is never such a reference to as *Tual-mi* like *Zo-mi* or *Lai-mi* in practice. Tual does not refer to the ethnic affinity of people; it only refers to the sacredness of the people who live in obedience to the moral being operating within the Tual state. Hence the usage is "Tual that kei in", 'Do not murder Tual'.

The Tedims use two terms for the village world. These are *khua-sung* and *Tual-sung* where *sung* denotes the area or space of an enclosure. *Khua-sung* thus refers to the physical area of the settlement place and *Tual-sung* specifically refers to the spiritual realm of the society or the sphere of Tual's spiritual influence. In that case, *Tual-sung* signifies the sacred or holy characteristic feature of the society in which the moral being operates. Tual shrines, the altar and pillar, are like the divine statutes and ordinances upon which the spiritual life of the society is collectively centered. *Tual-sung*, therefore, stands for 'Sacred Community'. Where the members of this sacred community are called *Khua-mi*, villagers, in the secular sense, they are referred to as *Tual* in the spiritual sense. This term, Tual, may be equivalent to 'citizen' in the political and legal senses. Unlike *Khua-sung* which is simply village society, *Tual-sung* having such a conception is in essence Tual State.

According to tradition, mankind has been mentioned as comprising *Khual* and *Tual* where *Khual* includes aliens and foes in its wildest sense but means strangers estrange brothers and separated kinsmen in general. *Khual le tual* becomes outer circle and inner circle of relationship. It has been said that a *Khual* is reckoned as *Tual* in the event that he ate and drank the Tual's water, *Kongkuang-tui*. All this element of tradition testifies to the fact that an outsider even an enemy could well become a Tual by reason of the practised tradition. What is called *Tual-thah* in Tedim is *Lai-nawng* in Haka. So it looks as if both terms Tual and Lai refer to the same idea - own tribesmen. But an analytical study reveals the case to be hardly so. The Haka word for own tribes is *Lai* as against *Khual*. The concept of this kinship in Tedim has been described as 'being born of a single mother, joined by navel cord' called *lai-gui*. Accordingly, those who are born of a single mother are related to one another as *lai-zom*, uterine brothers or kindred. So the Tedim term *lai*⁸ in this sense is similar to the Haka term *lai* in terminology and conception. Therefore, the racial term *Lai* in Haka for themselves in particular and for Chin in general may have found its origin in the idea of 'being born of a single mother'. What is now clear is that where the word *Lai* is associated with an exclusive sense of tribe, *Tual* is associated with an inclusive sense of spiritual realm; Judging by tradition, for instance, the Japanese who escaped within the Suangpi Tual area were *tual*; they would be reckoned as somewhat like the 'naturalized citizen', but never of the same tribe with Chins. This further shows that the culture terms *Tual* and *Lai* are not identical in cultural conception though both are generally used for one's own tribes. The Tedim conception of murder is distinguished into *Tual-thah* and *Lai-thah* where the former

8. Thual Dai of Suangpi village refers to his kindred as *lai* in his poem and says thus : "Va bang pilbel laite vontawi aw, tongdot loh a kulsin zaal ta e; sangsul kan bang zinsul kan thei leng, *lai* tawh ciam-in a kulah luh leng". (The most clever one of the sons of my kindred lies in grave without being asked after things about. Could I follow the trail of the devils as being done to the wild beasts, I wish together with my kinsmen to rush into the depth of their den).

refers to the murder of the member of Tual community and the latter refers to the murder of *Lai-zom*, uterine brother of kindred. As there was no real murder within the Tual state, the murderer of one's kindred was naturally of *Khual* and he was related to the next-of-kin of the murdered as enemy or adversary. So *Lai-that*, the murderer of one's kindred, is not *tual*, but *gaal* (enemy) and should be avenge as duty bound; and this revenge is traditionally considered legitimate and lawful. The next-of-kin of the murdered called *Thal-loh*⁹ is duty bound to avenge the blood. This custom may have been the main factor that had led the Zos to an endless strifes and feuds amongst themselves.

To summarize, Zo society is but a tribal or village society characterized by the cultural concept of the village sacrifice which is termed *Tual* in Tedim. *Tual* is symbolized by the sacrificial altar set up at the centre of the village. There could be no settlement or village without a *Tual* nor could there be more than one *tual* in a village. A village with its *Tual* altar is an independent state in which law and order are maintained and the inter-tribal relationship is governed by the principle of vengeance. The villagers are referred to as *Tual* in reference to the sacred character of Zo society.

The Spiritual Foundation

Zo society is the one in which there was no secular authority to enforce social justice nor was there any god or king who gave the moral laws and administered them. There was no such administrative institutions as the police force to bring the criminal cases to the law court or the judges to pass the verdict in a law case as to whether the accused is guilty or not, nor was there any prison camp to detain the criminals and the convicts as it is being done today. It is a society where people believe in the existence of an unseen power that enforces social justice. The communal sacrifice was offered to the village altar in the name of *Khua-siam* in Tedim, *Khua-hrum* or *Khua-rung* in Zotung. However, neither of these deities was conceived of as the powerful sanction for the approved behaviour. The retributive force that had always corrected the moral conduct may be simply called the Righteous One. In the social life, this Righteous One was believed to support the moral principles traditionally taught by the successive ancestors with whom it intended to be closely connected. If a man failed either to carry out his binding obligation to his kins or to observe the social codes, his immoral act was believed to be corrected by illness or sudden death. This was considered to be a divine dispensation of justice consonant with social and secular concept of fairplay. When the relation between kins formed the fabric of local community, the idea of retributive justice played the part of a powerful sanction for the approved behaviour in the Tual State.

In the Zo society people observe the social codes not because the gods or spirits to whom sacrifices were offered demand, but because they feared the retributive punishment which was bound to ensue if one was indiscreet enough to ignore it. Upon this form of justice the spiritual foundation of the society rests and the society derives its social conventions and moral values therefrom. So the adherence to the moral codes that governs the social relation may be regarded as the moral life. Thus Zo society was a

9. According to the Tedim customs, the inheriting brother, either of the eldest or the youngest, is the next-of-kin of the family. All his brothers are his *lai* and he is by virtue of tradition duty bound to avenge blood. His office is entitled *Thal-loh* where *thal* is bow with the arrows, and *loh* means 'to incur' or 'to repay' debt. So *thal-loh* is the next-of-kin who is duty bound to repay his clan debt of arrow to the one to whom it is owed. This means to kill the murderer of his kins in revenge.

realm in which people live in the obedience to a system of moral rules handed down through generations and being administered by an unseen power, the Righteous One. This ethical element signifies the theocratic feature of Zo society.

The Moral Foundation : The man of Zo was an ethical being and the secular authority was personalized. The ruler was to rule by exemplifying himself as the moral symbol; he symbolized the parents of the people. The moral calibre of those who enforced the social customs was more important than the customs themselves. Good administration means virtuous administrator. To the Zo thinking, the words in a legal contract were useless unless the parties who had concluded such a contract were morally strong to abide by it regardless of its eventuality. This idea is in Tedim described as *sunden leh deektuah* meaning 'to abide by an agreement till the event of death'. Whenever difficulties arose they believed that they could count on the other's fairness to resolve their differences. In other words, they placed trust on the adherence by both parties to an unwritten moral codes that governed the human relation than to the impersonal legal documents.

It has been mentioned that during the early period in Chin Hills, the village priest performed dual functions : political and religious. Therefore, the priestly function involves the proper performance of the religious rites on the one hand and the exhibition of good moral example in his person as the political chief on the other. Thus the idea of priesthood formed the political conception of early Tual states, in which the priest represented the people before the village altar on the one hand and served as the moral example on the other. This system of State can be likened to the patriarchal pattern of state in which Abraham was the priest and the political head of his tribes as well. On the basis of the concept of Tual state, the feudal system of Zo administration in Chin Hills was founded. However, a time came when the need for competent leadership was felt in the inter-tribe relationship, and this fact seems to have resulted in the separation of the political function from that of the religion. This system had always been in practice when Suangpi village was founded in about 1850 A.D.¹⁰.

The individual and community : In Zo society a man is never alone; he is viewed as part of Society. This Idea is clearly demonstrated by the history that not even a token resistance was made by the Haka to the invading British forces because of Lal Thang's fault by eating and drinking together with the *raal* (enemy). By doing so, the enemy had become naturalized citizen so that the fight with them would amount to *Lai-nawng* and the fight against them would be futile and lost at any rate. This Zo historical incident reminds one of the Achan's sin (Josh.7) in which because of Achan's sin, the people of Israel lost the war against the people of Ai. The social order places great emphasis on man's relationship with other men rather than on man as an independent, free individual unit. The relation of man to man is determined by the traditional concept that men are born not equal by virtue of differing descendancy. Zo society was thus not a kind of society composed of equal and independent individuals, but the one where man's place was defined by low or noble birth.

10. When Suangpi village was founded, Dongh Ngen of Tomu clan ws the village priest and Zong Tuang of Naulak was the tribal chief who led the founding of the settlement (Taken from "Suangpi Mualsung").

Zo society was made up of a variety of descent groups and individuals, and each group or each one of them had a specific duty and obligation to perform in the social life of the society. There was a socially imposed duty on the ruler and on the ruled as well. A ruler should set an example of life; only when the ruler was wise and virtuous could the people be expected to be loyal and obedient. The same principle applies to the social relation within the family society. Though the husband was superior to his wife, the parents to the children, and the elder brothers to the younger ones, there were mutual obligations governing each others: love and protection on the part of the superiors, loyalty and obedience on the part of the idea of the fatherhood of *Tual*. Therefore, the ethical character of Zo society is more expressive of spiritual nature than philosophical speculation in origin.

The Social Structure

Zo society is in essence an enlarged family society. Family society forms the nucleus of a widening circle of community and the community has its own beginning in the idea of the household where a man dwell with his kins. In fact there was no distinction between the idea of family and that of the community. The community was a tribal society in which patrilineal relationship forms the social system and the concept of fatherhood determines the social structure. Under the *Tual* sphere of spiritual influence, men are equal before the altar which stands at the centre of the village as an object embodying divine statutes and ordinances. The social organization is based on patrician system of different families or clans of the same tribe. Each clan professes to trace its descent through the male line to a common ancestor whereas the female line is absorbed into the clan descent of her husband at marriage. However, the male line and the female line of descent are linked together by the social and religious functions.

The family society is grouped into the sons and the daughters. There exist a division of works within the family in accordance with the family grouping of the children. The daughter are to do the domestic works under the mother's supervision and the sons are to ensure the family security under the father's leadership. The idea of this socio-economic tie underlies the principle of filial relationship between the sisters with the mother and the sons with the father. This family society is extended to embrace the familial relationship between clans in the tribal society at large. The social structure is thus determined by the filial between the son-group called *Beh* or *U leh Nau* in Tedim and the daughter-groups called *Tanute*. In short Zo society is organized upon the filial relationship between descent groups of the tribe.

The son-group or *Beh*-group is made up of the brothers with the patrilineal male cousins. This is similar to what H. Kamkhenthang describes as *Thalloh* group¹¹; and the daughter-group or *Tanute*- group comprises the married sisters with the patrilineal married female cousins. This group can also be described as the sons-in-law group. A given family is also related to another social group called *Pute*. This is the term by which the son-group of the mother's family lineage is called. Reciprocally the children of the given family is called *Tute* by the mother's family members and their descendants. So the *Tute*-group is of the social group with the daughter-group drawn from different descent group. The *Pute* exists as against the *Tute*.

11. H. Kamkhenthang, *The Paite*, (Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1988), 32.

To summarize, the patrilineal relatives of the mother of a household are grouped into the *Pute* category. And in Tedim, these relatives are collectively called *Sungh-leh-Pu*. In the same grouping, the patrilineal relatives of the father of the household are collectively called *Beh-leh-phung*. The group made up of the patrilineal female cousins is referred to as *Tu-leh-maak*. These are to be called familial relatives. The socio-economic life of a given family is thus inter-related with and inter-dependent on these familial relatives. Tradition assigns to each of these relatives duties and obligations to perform in the social life of the tribal society.

The Household Council: Zo custom has been mentioned as practising two systems of inheritance : where the eldest son inherits and where the youngest son inherits. In either case, every son except the inheriting son is leading to become a household. The son marries and stays with his parents for a time. After a certain period of time, the married son separates himself to establish his own family and to exist as a household in the social relationship of the society. To grow into a competent social unit and to exist as a true household member in the society, he needs to take up the filial duties and obligations that are performed through the functions of council-like social organization called *Inndongta* by the Paite, Tedim speakers in India. This Zo term Kamkhenthang makes the equivalent of Household council ¹². The council is a combination of the familial relatives incorporated in it in their respective capacities as either the *Pu* or the *Beh* or the *Tanu*. So a household can be defined as a family endowed with a council of familial relatives. The family thus endowed play the role of a household in the social relationship of the tribal society.

The Household Council is formed at the level of household and not as individual person. The *Beh*, the clan members or the group of the patrilineal male members of the father of the household, is incorporated in the council headed by the nearest clan inheritor called *Thalloh*(or *Bangkuapi*) of the household in refernece. The same applies to the order of the incorporation of the *Pute*, the clan of the mother of the family. Unlike other familial groups, the eldest daughter of the family concerned is not by virtue of her seniority by birth in the family appointed as the leading daughter. In the order of the *Tanu*'s daughter side relation to the family the principal *Tanu* is called *Tanupi* which is alternately called *Hai-tawi*, *Sungta*, etc. in reference to the function that she performs relating to the religious rites. In early days the married daughters from clans were drawn so that the social fabric embraces a large part of the society.

Household council is instituted on the principle of blood relationship, and, love and concern for one another underlie the concept of the formation. The appointment to the *Inndongta*, therefore, signifies the spiritual tie between the household and the members of the Household council. The appointment is thus accepted and considred as an honour and dignity by the appointees. This appointment to the positions ranking from the principal down to the ordinary members determines the levels of the filial relationship between the household and its familial relatives. The appointment to the higher place indicates the closer relationship. The order of that relationship again reflects the degree of responsibility to the household. The higher the level of the relationship as defined by

12. Kamkhenthang, The Paite, 15 ff.

the appointment to the council regulates the filial duties and obligations to be performed by the household council members at different levels of status ¹³. Through this system of social structure, the social life of a family is knitted and inter-woven with that of the other families and people live the social life as an organic whole within the Tual sovereign territory.

The Social Codes

A set of moral principles was handed down in the form of sayings. These were inherited through successive generations, strictly observed and obeyed within the society without necessarily knowing who had given them. They were taught in tradition and believed to have had retributive effect upon the one who violated them. Experiences of life approve of the truth of this belief. These can be generally re-arranged as follows :

- (1) *Tual that kei in* (Do not murder Tual)
- (2) *Na nu leh na pa zahtak in* (Revere your mother and your father)
- (3) *Zuaau thu gen kei in* (Do not tell lie)
- (4) *Gu kei in* (Do not steal)
- (5) *Mi zi mi ta tungah khial kei in* (Do not commit adultery)
- (6) *Mi neihsa tungah tatsia kei in* (Do not ill-treat one's property)
- (7) *Mi neihsa duh-gawh kei in* (Do not covet that which belongs to others)
- (8) *Paupha kei in* (Do not be arrogant)

These moral precepts constitute the social order that regulates the social behaviour within the society and are the spiritual fabric that had sustained the Zo human society. It is of interest to study how these moral elements were associated with the force of divine law.

Do not murder Tual : The Tedim terminology does not have separate words directly for 'to kill' and 'to murder'. It has been said that the Haka word for murder is *lai-nawn* and for killing is *that*. So *that* (pronounced htat) is the common word for killing. It has been also mentioned that the Tedim term *tual* develop to connote the sacred nature of man while *lai* denotes blood relation. One's personal achievement in his life time is usually measured in terms of what he had killed and obtained in the game as in *a-thah*, *a-mat*. For instance a barking deer is obtained by killing. But one does not say 'I kill a barking deer' (*Sakhi ka that hi*); he often says, 'I bagged a barking deer' (*Sakhi ka man hi*). Sometimes, what he bagged is described as what he had shot (*kap*). On the other hand, *that* is used in describing the killing of such natural powers as Snake, Lion, man, and so on. It is described as *gul that* (to kill Snake), *sahang that* (to kill tiger), *mi that* (to kill man), etc., but not as *Sai that* (to kill elephant). So it has been clear that the Tedim word *that* is not used in the simple sense of destroying life. Man's existence in this world was always threatened by these natural powers that they were probably viewed as something that should be annihilated. The killing of these powers might give men the sense of victory over enemy. Therefore, the act of destroying the life of these enemies which exist in parallel with man and even could surpass man's power is significantly described as *that*. So *that* does not merely have an associated sense with an act of

13. H. Khamthenthang in his *The Paité* gives a detailed account of the social structure of Chin people as practised by the Tedims.

destroying life as it does in the Buddhist thought, but it describes the poignant sense of victory over man's rival powers.

And, again, Tual community is a social unit in which one exists in dependence upon his fellow members. So the life or death of a Tual is a matter of the life or death of the community in its organic whole. This sense shows that the life of a Tual is a sacred thing that should be preserved if the tribe as a society were to survive. His life is an identification with the entire community and the killing of him is meant the killing of oneself. This act is in opposition to divine purpose of preserving the race. So the one who does it deserves severe punishment.

Now the spiritual fellowship as expressed within the community is clearly seen in contrast to the idea of enemy. So Tual is not to be killed as a rival power or as an enemy, but is instead to love and preserve as one-self. The destruction of his life is a serious breach of divine law and the one who does it is punished with sudden death. Hence the belief goes, "*Tual that inn-mang thei*" meaning "he who murders Tual was childless or heirless". The nature of the divine punishment itself evidently reflects the divine purpose of the preservation of human race. Many instances of experienced incident have led people to approve the truth of divine activities in dispensing justice. This unseen power which takes an active involvement in the historical life of people is to be called the Fear of Zo, the righteous One who had preserved Zo ethnic race. Thus it is written, "By the fear of the LORD a man avoids evil" (Prov. 16:6). The divine sentence, "heirless" has always been considered as the most serious punishment. So it is likewise most feared.

Revere your mother and your father : This moral precept may be equivalent to what is written in Leviticus 19:3, "Every one of you shall revere your mother and your father". Zo concept of parents is associated with religious sense on which the social foundation rests. As the father of a household is the head of the family society, the tribal chief acts as the father of the tribal community. As obedience to parents in a family is essential for the perpetuity of the family, obedience and loyalty to the tribal chief is essential for the stability and perpetuity of the tribe. So to honour parents is the moral principle which holds up together the entire society in an harmonious whole. The word 'honour' has an inherent sense of respect in gratitude for the parental love and care which preserved the very life of the children. Respect in gratitude expresses itself in obedience to parents, which is the filial duty and the sense of reverence is intimately related not only with gratitude, but also with the belief that honour for parents brings about blessings and disobedience can result in misfortune. The Tedim saying goes, "*Nu thumang lo, pa thumang lo a nahlawh peek lo*". This literally means somewhat like thus, "The leave that is plucked by the disobedient one to his parent is not flat". It means to say that he who disobeys his parents is hardly prosperous in his life. The social convention, therefore, places honour for parents in the highest order of the social relation.

Do not tell lie : The traditional concept of Truth does not necessarily imply what is factually true. It is just what one sees and knows as it appears to him even if this turns out contrary to the fact. So the idea of truth in tradition is closely related with the state of upright mind. Telling lie thus means the speaking in contrast to what he sees and how he knows particularly in giving evidence. It resembles that which says, "You shall not bear false witness against your neighbours" (Exod. 20:6).

Zo customary law has the rite of taking oath as the means of giving evidence to prove the truth. These are in Tedim *Suangto pehna*¹⁴, *Tuikul tuahna*¹⁵ and *Tuisia nekna*¹⁶. These rites were resorted to where factual evidences were not available from the hearing to enable to judge to make sound decision. The oath taking rite may have found its origin in the belief that there was one who knows the heart of men and their thoughts, (Acts. 15:8; Ps. 139:2) and who had the knowledge of men and their works (Ps.33:13-15). The belief involves that a false witness does not go unpunished and he who utters lie does not escape divine punishment (Prov. 19:5,9). This belief is described in Tedim as *Zuaa in a khaap tawn* meaning "Lying is being measured". When any of these rites was administered both parties to the dispute appeared before the Truth and the judge (the tribal chief) administered the ritual proceeding in the presence of both parties and observers. A certain period of time was set apart to be observed with the belief that the divine decision would prevail within the prescribed time. Tradition thus teaches that false witness or telling lie is punishable by the Truth.

Do not steal : "Do not steal" is a social taboo strictly observed within the society. Stealing is an act of taking away something that belongs to other, without the knowledge of the person to whom the thing belongs. This precept is an ethical element the observance of which is essential for the peaceful and harmonious life of the society. Some particular thefts as the stealing of fire wood were considered to be the serious breach of social code punishable by death. Undue gain is held as unwholesome. When a lost thing was discovered it was given back to its owner. It is believed that if the thing thus found or discovered is kept unreturned, a thing of his own more valuable than what he found would surely be lost. It is the traditional practice that grains were left in the field and cattles were kept in jungle. House doors were shut not because there might be thieves, but because the domestic animals such as dog, goat, fowl, etc. were feared to enter the house and destroy the household things. Hut doors in the field were shut at night because some fierce animals might come into the hut. The stealing of alkali (*zil guk*) and fire-wood (*sing-eh guk*) is said to have been punished by death.

Do not commit adultery : Tradition does not view sex as something which is intrinsically bad. Whether a sexual act is sinful is to be judge by how it is used. It bears its sinful character only in relation to its social practice. There is mention in some record that Zo practises polygamy¹⁷. But the study of cultural history shows that polygamy was purely feudalistic in origin and practices. There is some claim in the Tedim area that such tribal chief as Suan Tak, El Thuam, etc. had wives, but there is no proved evidence for the claim. It would be unfair to assert that the Hebrews polygamy on the ground that King Solomon had more than seven hundred wives despite the rigid tradition of sexual relation that is regulated in detail. Besides these, polygamy does not have place in the society which was organized on the principle of patrilineal relationship.

Zo social system is chiefly determined by the custom of inter-familial relationship; that is the relationship between the three descent groups - *Beh-Pu-Tanu*. A given

14. See Appendix - Vii "Zo Custom of Divine Rites"

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8 Vols. 5:555.

marriage should correspond to that system. For example, if A-descent group takes wife from B-descent group, 'A' cannot give its daughters to that B-descent group. This reciprocal relation is regarded as unwholesome and is till today avoided. This marriage is called *ki-sasengleh* in Tedim. The marriage between the same clan is called *ki-beh-ten'* (taking one's own sister) and is undesirable. What best corresponds to tradition is the marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister. In early days, perhaps, this kind of marriage was regarded as the only legitimate one. Matter of descent seems to have had strong influence on the social relation, where no adopted or illegitimate son found his place. This may have also played as a social deterrence to the misuse of sex within the tribal community. In early days illegitimate pregnancy occurred very rare; even when such case happened, it is said, the born child was exterminated, but survived only when the British administration gave official protection to them.

The true idea of adultery in the sense of tradition was the breaches of two moral precepts. The first is that one should not make sexual intercourse with the woman to whom he does not belong, in similar to "You shall not uncover the nakedness of a woman" (Lev. 18:17). Tradition holds that if a man 'uncovers the nakedness of a woman', but not marry her, then it is an act of adultery. This kind of sinful act is described in Tedim as "*Mi tu mi ta nawi tualsak*"¹⁸. It is considered as an act of killing her life, because having lost her chastity she has a very remote chance of decent marriage. In such event the iniquity was held to be borne by the adulterer¹⁹. Tradition does not definitely pronounce how the unseen being punished that kind of adulterer. At least the behaviour is socially held as a shameful plight and he was considered like a sinner. It is believed that he did not lead a happy married life.

According to tradition, the husband has the exclusive right to divorce his wife. But this right is not legitimately exercisable so long as the wife is faithful to him. The wife, on the other hand, has no equal right with the husband in the same case. Regarding the faithfulness of the husband to his wife, a saying in Tedim goes thus : *Zi palngulh ta palngulh, a zi a ta sun thei*. It means somewhat like this: "One's unfaithfulness to his wife and children is attended with the death of his own wife and children". The Tedim saying, *Mi zi mi ta tungah khial kei in*, is closely similar to "You shall not carnally lie with your neighbour's wife and defile yourself with her" (Lev. 18:20). The social convention is that the adulteress is divorced. It is regarded as an act of afflicting the adulteress's husband, and the adulterer is held responsible and liable to compensate the afflicted husband in accordance with the practised customs of the tribe concerned. At any rate, adultery had always been considered as an immoral conduct and those who commit it are looked down and socially despised like sinner. All this tradition points out that men are held most responsible for any kind of adultery and the burden of it is borne by the adulterer.

Do not ill-treat one's properties : The appearance of cattle grazing in the field is described in Tedim as *gamtaa* where *gam* is contry-side and *taa* is grazing or behaving. Applying this idea to man's conduct, *gamtatna* (*gamtaana*) where *na* is the noun form

18. This saying literally means, "Lengthening one's nipple". It has the sense of making a virgin women to bear child.

19. "And she shall be his wife, because he has violated her; he may not put her away all his day" (Deut. 22:29).

like the 'ness' in English, may be equivalent to 'conduct' or 'manner' or 'behaviour'. So good conduct is *gamtaapha* and bad conduct is *gamtatsia*. Therefore, the word *tatsia* in the saying, *Mi neihsa tungah tatsia kei* in, would mean 'ill-treat' or 'mal-treat' in English.

Sometimes, there are some people who are pleased and satisfied with damaging other's crops and plants in the field and with mal-treating other's domesticated animals and innocent children. There are also some who took pleasure in talking about other's misfortune and shameful plight. Tradition teaches that cruelty to crops, animals, and children is accountable to divine punishment here and now. The belief is that cruel behaviour could result in bad effect upon the behaviourer. This idea is described in Tedim as *Thallam cilsiat eima tung hong tu*. It is "What we spit out in lying posture fell down upon ourselves". It means to say that the one who is pleased with talking about other's sad plight could suffer the same plight of what he talks about. For instance, illegitimate pregnancy is considered to be the most dreadful plight. If one talks of this shameful thing, the same fate shall pass upon him. One could marry the woman whom he talks of ill.

Do not covet that which belongs to others : It has been mentioned that a strong desire develops into an efficacious substance emanating independently of the will of the person who has the desire. Therefore, the one who holds the desire cannot be held responsible for the effect of his desire is not ultimately concerned with the control of the efficacious force, but with the moral sanction against the action or conduct which is the outcome of the wrongful desire.

To covet is the desire something that belongs to someone else or the desire of something that one has no right to have it. So covetousness is the desire for an unjust gain. This eventually leads one to moral corruption resulting in stealing, telling lie, removing landmark, and the like. Tradition maintains that unjust gain is unwholesome; it can result in losing more than the gain by unjust means. The practice of giving back a discovered thing to its owner seems to have been originally due to the fear of the divine penalty for the unjust gain. For instance, the removal of landmark, *Gitung keek, giphee keek*, in Tedim is traditionally considered to be the worst kind of moral act resulting from the strong desire for an unjust gain, the curse of which can manifest in the physical death of the wrong doer. This tradition is similar to that which says, "Curse be he who removes his neighbour's landmark" (Deut. 27:7).

Do not be arrogant : Zo society has been described as the one which is formed with unequal individuals by virtue of their descent. Accordingly, tradition lays down the way and manner of how one should speak and behave in his relation to the social formation. The principle is that one should speak and behave in correspondence with his own social status. For instance, such words as *mang* (reigning or ruling), *hau* (rich or wealthy), *lian* (great or of high status), and so on, are socially reserved to be used by ordinary persons for personal names by the ruling class and the well-to-do. If these were used by ordinary persons for personal names, this behaviour of naming was considered to be not corresponding with the social status of the person who bore the name and was thus regarded as improper. Relating to this tradition, the Tedim saying goes as "Min

phalua khulah thei" meaning "Too important a name could weight down its bearer" in the same description as "The perishable body weighs down the soul and oppresses the spirits"(Wisdom of Solomon 1:4; 8:15;). It is believed that the bearer of undeserved name was hardly prosperous or successful in his life. Therefore, in naming and speaking, words that are over-bearing are avoided and that which express self-effacement are preferred.

It has been said that speaking the truth itself means the reflection of the simplicity of mind. So the speaking of even what is factually true may become overbearing if it is spoken in its bloated sense. Chief Suan Kai of Kalzang capital is said to have acquired a set of musical plates *daak* which he believed to be god's wealth. He tactfully counted that he possessed what others did not have, and considered himself to be the wealthiest one amongst his contemporaries. Relating to his wealth, Suan Kai is told to have claimed thus :

Gunli nuai zinmang langlam ciandal minthang,

*Gual ii lam loh lam ing e, ci ngam lang e*²⁰.

[The famous musical plates of god's wealth in the river bed,

Which I dare not say that I have acquired what others did not have.]

Had Suan Kai in the sense of self-pride uttered that he had acquired what others did not have, his spoken words might have amounted to an over-bearing one. What is spoken with this sense is called *pausia*, over-bearing or arrogance. If one says, "I am rich" as he is factually rich, this word is taken as *pausia*. The same sense of tradition applies to such kind of other spoken words as "I have many sons", "My field yields abundantly", and the like. Tradition maintains that this form of spoken words even if conforming to the true state of being could change into the reversed effect. For example, the rich, if speak so, can become poor. This form of speaking is called *paupha* spoken in not necessarily its bloated form. So the *paupha* is counted as *pausia* which may be equal to what is ill-bearing. For example, while on hunting one may say, "If we obtain game, I will give a grand feast for it". The belief involves that speaking these improper words the hunt may become futile. Such kind of words as "If I were dead", and the like, are also regarded as *pausia* because the word may portend to a literal death.

Zo people, too, practise the tradition of composing classical songs called Lagui in Tedim, in which the composer expresses his feelings, desires, and recounts his achievements and failures in his life time. What he speaks of with the songs may contain elements *paupha* and *pausia*. So the composer makes one or more verses in which he interprets and justifies what he speaks of with the songs. This kind of songs is called a *khitna* or a *khiatna*, the concluding verse or verses²¹. Tradition teaches that young people ought not compose classical songs, because the one who does it may not live long.

A study of the social convention of speaking in Zo tradition reveals that Zo people, particularly the Tedims, are very careful not to speak words which are over-bearing in meaning and which are literally portentive in effect, called *Paupha* and *Pausia*. So

20. Ngingh Suan, *Kalzang Suante Beh Tangthu*, 11.

21. A set of folksongs contains verses one verse of which is divided into two parts : the first part is called *a teeng* or *a bul* and the second part is called *a dawn* or *a leek*. Accordingly, the singers are of two groups; sings first *a bul*, the prelude, and the other group sings *a dawn* in responsive process.

whenever one is to speak of what is traditionally held improper, he usually prefaces by saying, "*Pausia lo in*" meaning "Without speaking of what is improper" or "Without speaking against sacred". Now it has become evident that tradition teaches to speak in self-effacement and to behave in self-humiliation. The virtuous elements that are contained in Zo cultural life find their origin in the simple nature of man; that is the innocent state of human form like the one before the 'fall of Adam and Eve' in Hebrew tradition.

The study of the way and manner of how Zo people should speak and should behave discloses the hidden mystery that *Pausia, Paupha* is the utterance of words pertaining to the fate of man. This further brings to light that the sacredness of *Pausia, paupha* lies in its relation to divine activities or divine providence ²². So this may lead one to the conclusion that what belongs to divine provision is traditionally held "sacred", the speaking against which is believed to have affacted the fate of man.

22. In old Kalzang capital, young Suan Kai had a good dream for his future greatness, which his grandfather Hang Sum charged him of to tell no one, because it was a good dream. This Zo tradition resembles the Hebrew tradition in which Jesus Christ charge His disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ. (Matt: 16:20) "the secret things belong to the LORD" (Deut. 29:29).

5

Zo Sacrifice and Worship

The Religious System

Primitive religion is generally defined as the belief in numerous deities which are concerned with human affairs and are capable of helping or harming man's interest. The same belief holds true to Zo traditional religion. Zo religious belief is, however, associated with a significant feature that distinguishes Zo character of animism from the common understanding of primitive religion in the realm of theology. Their cultural history testifies to the fact that the ancestors of the Tibeto-Burman people once believed in only one Supreme Being. But in course of times, this belief seems to have split into numerous deities residing in different areas and realms. Yet the primary belief is still retained in the form of moral life that the Zos are leading in modern age. While believing in numerous deities, Zo people are adhering to a universally accepted principle of justice without which the primitive society would not have survived. Tradition makes no mention of a king or a god who gave the moral rules that regulate the social system and that corrected the social behaviour. People just believe that an unseen power does exist and enforces the social codes, the violation of which does not escape divine punishment. Within the Tual society people thus observe the social justice not because the god to whom sacrifices are offered demand, but because they fear the retributive punishments. Therefore, Zo social life within the Tual community is the practical life resulting from the belief of some unseen power as having control of man's destiny. This point distinguishes what is true religion from the belief in numerous deities. In terms of Christianity Zo religion does not have rites to be referred to as worship in the strict sense of bowing before any object. Zo altar and pillar do not represent idol, but the place of sacrifices.

It has been said in the preceding chapter that the life and death of man are virtually determined by the life and death of his spirit. Man himself is a spiritual entity living in this world in relation to all forms of demonic beings. Therefore, he is constantly at stake of being attacked and captured by the demonic powers around him. So spiritual powers which are capable of harming man's soul are propitiated and appeased. Zo sacrificial function is thus to ensure the harmonious existence of man with his spirit, to protect the wandering spirit from demonic attack and to help free the spirit in case of falling into captivity. The function of propitiation is therefore, to maintain the physical body of man in a state of healthy condition. It can be likened to the role of medical services of modern time.

On the other hand, man needs material things so that he can maintain his physical existence in this world. For this purpose he has to work. But he believes that the materials that he wants are owned by some other powers. So he has to offer sacrifices to the powers concerned so that he may be given what he wants. The gods which are capable of helping man are offered sacrifices and the spirits which are harming man's spirit are propitiated and appeased. Now it seems clear that in Zo traditional society man lives in obedience to the social orders and obligations in recognition of the divine enforcement for correct behaviour on the one hand, and he is still making sacrifices and propitiations to natural powers and demonic powers for his soul and material resources on the other. This dual nature of Zo cultural system characterizes the distinction between the religious life and the social life. According to this cultural system, the correct performance of the ritual offerings in conformity to the prescribed procedure and the strict observance of the sacrificial taboos and prohibitions would be regarded as the religious life and the observance of the social codes that regulate the social system and the moral behaviour of man would be regarded as the social or moral life. Dr. R.A. Stein may have termed this idea of Zo moral life as 'the religion of man' and of Zo religious life as 'the religion of gods'. Therefore, Zo religious system is featured by the separation of ethics from religion or sacrifice.

The study of the traditional concept of Zo sacrifices and worship discloses the fact that Zo religion has as its ultimate objectives the physical well-being of the spirit of man, the material happiness and prosperity of man on earth and the longevity of the span of life here and now. So the religious attitude was intrinsically wordly or idolatry not in the sense that Zo worships images of deities, but in the sense that the gods and spirits to which sacrifices are offered had no moral attributes.

The offering to spirits is often called *Dawi Biakna* in Tedim, where *biak na* being derived from *bia* is religion. In the strict sense of the word, *bia* denotes that act of worshipping or bowing before an object that is revered. *Dawi* (god) is not worshipped in that sense; but is only propitiated to appease it by offering things. The rite of propitiation is *thoih* or *khaii* in Tedim similar to *rai-thawi* in the Lai terminology. So the distinction between the sense of sacrifice and that of propitiation has been now clear. What is offered sacrifice may be equivalent to god and what is propitiated may be equivalent to spirit. This chapter is mainly concerned with the account of traditional sacrifices.

The Deities of Sacrifice

The Tedim ritual invocation, "Ka pasian na taii in, ka lungzai na taii in" shows that *pasian* and *lungzai* represent the highest deities in the hierarchy of gods and can be called the chief gods. As already mentioned in chapter II, *Lungzai* personifies *Khuazing*, the earthly power and *Pasian* symbolizes the heavenly power like the Yin and Yang of the Taoist conception. *Lungzai* is traditionally believed to have been the communal benefactor while *Pasian* is viewed to be concerned with the individual case. Hence *Lungzai* is referred to as *Khua-siam*. In the true sense of tradition *Lungzai* belong to *dawi* in Tedim conception of the word. *Dawi* is the general term used by the Christians and the believers of *Pasian* cult to represent all forms of earthly deities. In the Tedim poetic form, *dawi* is referred to as *om-lai* which resembles *Xai*, the chief deity in Matupi and *Rai* in Falam. According to the present concept, *dawi* may be equivalent with *Khua-chia* in Hakha. In former days before adoption of Christianity and prior to the revival of *Pasian* cult, *dawi* embodied two kinds of deities in which case some deities were helpful to man and some were harmful. But now this view has changed and the word is being used to denote all forms of evil-spirits and demons. In its history, it was never referred to in its singular form, but always in its plural form as in *dawite*. Demonic beings of varying degree of potency are believed to reside in many natural objects such as mountains, rivers, springs, huge rocks, and other topographical features. The chronicle of Laipian Cult (*pasian* cult) records about fifty four deities of *dawi* in the Tedim area alone¹. They bear various names with reference to the places of their habitation. The spirit of the river, for example, is called *gun-dawi* where *gun* is river. In the same practice, the country spirit is named *gampi-dawi*.

There are some deities which are both beneficent and harmful. For example, *Pu-sha* (ancestor-god) is believed to be beneficent only as long as it was offered sacrifice but harmful unless regularly offered. Some peculiar natural objects are usually believed to possess beneficent force and are often reared at home². This is called *Ai* in Tedim similar to 'Laban's household gods' (Gen. 31:17). The effect of the beneficency of this kind of gods is concerned only with the individual or the household that reared it. The object that represents the benefactor is in most cases anointed with blood. What is called *pheisam* in Tedim, meaning 'the one legged imp' a kind of incorporeal creature, is also believed as having the potency of giving material benefits to man. But its beneficency (*phei-sam'siam*) is said as being short lived. They are said to be inherently harmful to man's interest unless regularly offered. The spirits of river, stream, spring, are never looked upon as beneficent in attribute. The spirits of rock and trees are viewed as most harmful. All these deities are propitiated and appeased.

To summarize, the god that is concerned with the village as a whole is communal in manifestation. Similarly the god that is most concerned with a family is of household and that which is concerned with individual is personal. Based on this principle, the sacrificial and propitiatory rites can be grouped into three categories, : (1) Communal

1. See Appendix VIII, "Names of *Dawi*".

2. Ngulh Khai of Suangpi village once found a silver rupee coin with a ball-headed head in his field. The coin appeared to him peculiar in contrast to what he found in use in his day. He kept the coin at home annually anointed it with the blood of young pig. It became his *Siam* (benefactor).

rite, (2) household rite and (3) personal rite. In Tedim speaking area the communal rite is called *Tual biakna*. The same rite is called *Khua-hrum biak* in Hakha and *Khua-rung* in Zotung area in Matupi township. The household gods are represented by *Pu-sha* (ancestor god), *Inntek* (host spirit), *Baang-kua* or *Baangtung* (front door spirit) *Sumtawng* (the ground yard spirit), and *Mubiak* or *huanbiak* (the kitchen garden spirit). The spirits which inhabit various places in the country side are to be called personal spirits or common spirits. The propitiatory rites to these spirits are administered to cure the sickness of individual persons.

..

Pusha (The Ancestor-god)

What is popularly known as ancestor worship is called *Pu-sha biakna* in Tedim. It is the rite of offering to *Pu-sha* often described as *Pu-sha*, *Pa-sha*. This deity is most significant in the sense of religion. So it deserves a comparative study with other folk religions. *Pu-sha* is the chief god of all the household gods. *Sha* has been mentioned as a holy spirit-like force which re-inforces the weak soul of man. In this respect, *Sha* appears to be somewhat like the personal spirit of man. So this point may lead one to confuse *Sha* with personal spirits. The *Sha* that manifests in a person is one and the same deity that manifests in another person. It is neither a personal spirit of the ancestors. It is difficult to say exactly how the sacrifice to *Pu-sha* had originated. What seems almost certain in that the belief of parental blessing had its root in the belief of *Sha*. *Sha* is likely to have been once the guardian spirit of Zo ancestors, and, later on, was probably conceived and handed down to generations as if it represented the personal spirits of the ancestors.

Regarding Chinese ancestor worship, one author writes thus : "The departed ancestors are spiritual beings closest to the living descendants, but each descendant also is affected by a tremendous hierarchy of non-ancestral gods". *Pu-sha* is, however, not the kind of this spiritual being though it exists in association with human spirits. *Pu-sha* is thus the god of Zo ancestors in the same sense of tradition in which the LORD is 'the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob' (Exod.3:15). It is not certain whether the rite of ancestor worship had shared its root with the patriarchal culture in which Isaac exercises parental authority of blessing Esau, the illegitimate heir, by accepting Esau's savory food (Gen. 27:1-39). Relating to this cult, it is recorded as follows :

Evidences for ancestor cult practices dating to the 7th B.C. were discovered at Jericho in Palestine, where several skulls were deposited in a separate room, some of them covered with a plastic modelling of faces similar to that found on the ancestral skulls of present day agrarian peoples of South Asia and Oceania³.

According to the traditions of both Zo and Hebrew, parents are revered and honoured. This tradition finds its origin in the divine commandments (Exod.20:12; Lev.19:3). It seems to find peculiar that both the Tibetan and the Tedim languages commonly refer to father as *Pha-jo* (Tibetan) and *Pa-zua* (Tedim) meaning father lord. Relating to this tradition, the Karen source connects So similar to *Sha* in concept, with

the 'infinite attributes of Y'wa'. It is not known whether the original word Y'wa (or Zua or Jo) was substituted by *Sha* in Tedim and Lahu, or by *So* or *Pgho* in Karen, because the original word might have been so sacred to pronounce. So *Pu-sha* is analogous with *Pa-zua* or *Pa-zwa* or *Pha-jo*. This tradition also suggests the relation of the Tedims to the *Pa-zwa* and of the Karen to the Y'wa as in somewhat like 'father-son' relationship similar to that which says "He shall be my son and I shall be his father" (I Chron.22:10). Based on all this tradition, it looks as if *Sha* were the attribute of a progenitor named *Pha-jo* in Tibetan, *Pa-zua* in Tedim, and Y'wa in Karen. This symbol appears to have been handed down as representing the ancestor god.

When the rite of ancestor worship is administered, the clan priest recounts the personal names of the pedigrees of successive generations. These ancestral names were orally preserved by being handed down through the clan priesthood. The deity of *Pu-sha* is invoked with reference to the personal names of the ancestors. Thus it looks as if the ancestors represent the object of the sacrifice. But an analytical study suggests that it is not the ancestors that bless, but it is the *Sha* which blessed the ancestors. In other words *Sha* does not refer to the personal spirit of the individual ancestor, but refers to the god that the ancestors worshipped since the untold ages.

The Sacrificial Institution

The concept of Zo as a religious symbol has been described as that in which the Zo king assumed the Son of Heaven. The sacrifice to Heaven and Earth was the prerogative of the king himself and the princes of the feudal states had no legitimate right to perform the kingly sacrifice. The king was the supreme ruler on earth and no newly created state could have legal existence unless recognized by the king or the one authorized by the king. Kingship is thus characterized by priesthood. This tradition was transmitted down and was still in practice when the first settlements in Chin Hills were founded. Therefore, the term 'sacrifice' in Zo traditional practice is the offering to the powers of Heaven and Earth symbolized by the image of mountain. Priest is the one who makes the village sacrifice to mountain in representation of the tribes. So the Lai term *Tlang-bawi* for priest is most suited with the original concept of priesthood, because *tlang* means mountain and *bawi* as used today means Lord or Master. The Tedims use various words for village priest. These are *Tual-phuisam*, *Tual-siam Pupa*, *Khua-sampa* and so on.

There are two kinds of priest in the true sense of the term, namely, village priest and family or clan priest. The one who makes propitiations to the common spirits is not equivalent to *Siampi*, priest, but is referred to as *Phuisampa* or *Dawisapa* which can be translated as Propitiator. The one who wards off evil-spirits can be translated as Sorcerer. Communal priesthood is historically connected with the founding of the village. In early days, the founder, the one who led the founding of the settlement served as the village priest. But, now, the eldest one in the village is chosen for it. He administers all the village rites and ceremonies such as village sacrifices, funeral ceremonies and so on.

The clan priest contrasts with the village priest on many points and is more unique than the village priest in religious conception and tradition. The Tedim custom of inheritance has been mentioned as of two principles : the eldest son and the youngest son. In either case the clan priesthood is handed down through the family descent of the

eldest son. The legitimacy of the clan priesthood had priority over seniority by birth. This idea of paternity underlies the concept of clan priesthood which represents the genealogy of the family concerned linking to the clan ancestor. So clan priests were the heads of the father's houses in the same tradition as "And in the days of Joiakim were priests, heads of father's houses" (Nehemiah 12:12).

According to patrician system and marriage custom, it has been said that each patrician clan professes to trace its descent through the male line to the common ancestor. so the people represented collectively by a common ancestor are relatives. Kinship is described in Tedim as *Beh-khat* (*Bhe-khat*) in which the kinsmen are related in order of next-of-kin. As a traditional rule, a clan priest thus represents the patrician clan of the relatives. Each clan has its own clan priest and there are clan priests in a village. In Tedim, this clan priest is termed *Tulpipa*. Accordingly, kinship is described by the term *Tul-khat* where khat is one in numerical number. it is taken to describe the idea of being the same people in one ancestry. So the clanship is termed *Beh khat*, *Tul khat* in Tedim.

Tul is a pointed stick or pointed rod by which the sacrificed animals are ritually slaughtered. In Tedim area pig is commonly used for the victim. The victim is made lying on the ground and the pointed rod is thrust deep into the body until it pierces the organ. This ritually slaughter is done personally by the priest. Therefore, *Tulpipa* literally refers to the one who ritually uses the *Tul* in slaughtering the sacrificed animal. So *Tul* is a sacred thing that belongs to the sacrificial rite. The account of its ritual use points to the fact that 'rod' represents priesthood on the one hand, and clanship on the other. The rod as used today is made with bamboo material. It is not known whether the bamboo rod came to be in use in substitution for spear called *Teipi* in Tedim. until recent time, the *Sukte* clan used spear for the pointed rod⁴. This Tedim concept of rod finds its parallel existence with that mentioned in the Hebrew tradition as follows :

The LORD said to Moses, 'Speak to the people of Israel, and get from them rods, one for each father's house, and from all their leaders according to their father's houses, twelve rods. Write each man's name upon his rod, and write Aaron's name upon the rod of Levi (Num: 17:2,3).

There are two kinds of Zo society : that which is composed of only the members of one clan and that which is composed of different clans. In the former kind of society, the village priest is the clan priest as well. But in the kind of the later one, the village priest would be of different clan and has no right to administer other's clan rites.

And, again, the clan relatives are usually scattered in different villages in which case the clan priest has to visit all the families of his clan to administer the clan sacrifice. One has to keep in mind that the household gods are numerous, ranging from the ancestor god to the garden spirit. The sacrifice to the ancestor god is the highest rite of all the household sacrifices. This offering is, therefore, the prerogative of the clan-priest concerned⁵. Other rites were lesser ones. The power of the administration of these lesser

4. The *Sukte* *Tul* is reported to be still kept in the house of Thawng Khan Kang in Heilei village. So Thawng Khan Kang represents the genealogical line of the *Sukte* clan.

5. Kham Lian of Laitui village in Tedim township was the clan priest of Naulak. He was too old that he was carried to administer the clan rite by those who needed him.

rites are in practice delegated to the eldest father of the clan in the village concerned. This lower rank of clan priest can be called household priest. He administers all the household rites save that of the ancestor god. He does all this on behalf of the clan priest. This Zo priesthood can be compared to the Levitical priesthood as mentioned below :

And if a Levite comes from any of your towns outside of all Israel, where he lives - and he may come when he desires - to the place which the LORD will choose, then he may minister in the name of the LORD his God like all his fellow Levites who stand to minister there before the LORD (Deut.18:6).

In Tedim area alone over two hundred family lines are recorded to have claimed clanship. The split into numerous clans seems to have been due to the inability of the clan priests to visit their relatives who lived in different villages.

The propitiator *Dawi-sa-pa* is the one who on behalf of the sick person makes the petition to the evil-spirit concerned. The propitiator office is not connected with the genealogical conception. It is simply a professional function. Anyone can become a propitiator on condition that he could recite the formulae of the placation. So a propitiator is a common priest who offers the sacrifices to the common spirits. They are hired in the same practice as doctors are hired to cure illness.

Of all Zo sacrifices, the sacrifice to the ancestral god and that to the village benefactor are most significant and important. The ritual ceremonies of these rites involve the participation of familial relatives; that is the *Beh* group, the *Pu* group, and the *Tanu* group called *Inndongta*. Each group has its own function to perform. Their respective roles in the sacrificial ceremonies will be mentioned under the subjects concerned.

The Communal Sacrifice

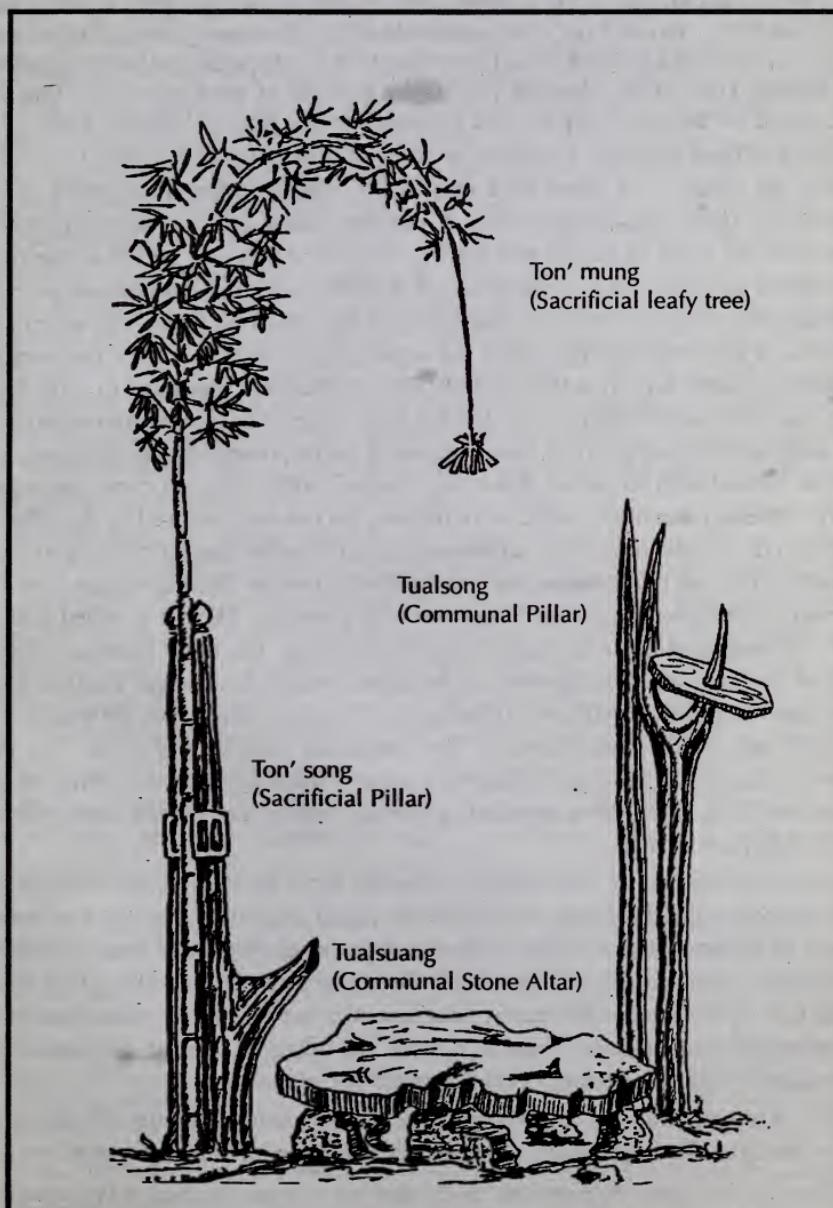
The founding of new settlement has been said as a noble deed and an historic achievement. The set up of altar at the centre of the village marks the historic event of the founding of the settlement. The place where the altar was set up is culturally and historically linked with the founders; that is 'participating in the tradition handed down from the past'. It is the cultural centre with which the individual members of the entire community are collectively linked. So the sacrifice to the village benefactor (*Khua-siam*) deserves to be called 'communal sacrifice'. Even in Tedim area, there is no single word commonly used for the communal sacrifice. It is simply called by the words like *Sial-sawm*, *Khua-bawl*, *Tual-thoih*, and others. The word *thoih* (*thawi* in Falam) has been said as having the meaning of propitiation whereas *bawl* denotes the sense of giving treatment like the medical treatment to patient. *Sial-sawm* means the mithun tied; so is mithun sacrifice. According to its cultural sense, *Tual-bawl* may be the most suitable word for the sacrifice.

Tual structure is constituted by two component parts: *Tualsuang* and *Tualsong*.⁶ *Tualsuang* is a stone platform used for the altar and *Tualsong* is the sacrificial pillar or pole. The stone platform is set up in such a way that a certain size of stone slab of rectangular shape is placed, supported by a certain number of upright stones which are posted in line of equal distance in the shape as that of the slab, thereby raising the slab

6. See Diagram 1.

7. The slab used in old Kalzang tual is said to have been the size of 9 feet by 4 feet by 4 feet supported by three legs. The Suantak altar below the present Khuasak village is made of two slabs measuring together about seven feet long and three feet broad.

ZO RELIGIOUS SHRINES



the supporting stones or the size of the stone platform. Some platforms are formed by connecting two or more slabs to make the required size⁷. According to Suangpi Tual, a wooden pole and a wooden post of equal size and equal length of about seven feet are jointly planted beside the stone platform. For the wooden material, *Sesing*, a kind of oak tree growing in the middle part of a mountainous region is used, perhaps, in lieu of oak, because oak tree is rare and not easily available within the countryside in Tedim area. The post is made with a trunk of forked branches cut in the shape like the horns of mithun. In the Saizang Tual, an old village in Tedim area, a couple of stone poles about four feet high are used for the pole and pillar and a wooden pole is planted between them.

Tual is offered annually. Tradition has no fixed date on which to offer. It is offered just after the seeds of all crops have been sown, usually before the coming of the Monsoon rain. In most cases, the offering is, therefore, made generally within the period between the last week of March and the first week of April. The period of the ritual observance is adjusted with the solar system. For instance, if the ritual observance begins at a certain date of a given moon, it also ends with the end of the moon. The offering is made twice a year with the first before the coming of the Monsoon to be followed by the second in about July. It is not certainly known what was sacrificed in early days. Thang Tuan relates that when the Zos lived in Kale valley, Langkui, the mountain peak in the south was offered an ox or cow. According to the present day practice, Suangpi Tual was offered with an ox and that of the Vangteh with mithun in every leap year⁸. If the first offering was made with cow or mithun, the rite was followed by the offering with pig in the second time. This communal rite is related to another offering to some other natural objects. For instance, the hole below the present Saizang village is said to have been offered annually as the village rite with a he-goat. The rite is called *Keel-ip* literally meaning goat-bag where *keel* is goat and *ip* is bag. The rite is likewise referred to as *Keel-tui* where *tui* is spring water. In the same practice the Suangpi Tual sacrifice, too, is related to the offering of fowl to the big rock, Suangpi, after which the settlement place was named. The significance of the communal sacrifice lies in the fact that whatever is sacrificed, the animals must be a male without any blemish, similar to the Levitical rite, "You shall offer a male lamb a year old without blemish as a burnt offering to the LORD"(Lev.25:12).

The administration of Tual sacrifice involves three functions : the priest called *Siampi*, the host called *Tual-teek*, and the servant called *Tual-tanu*⁹. *Tual teek* is the one who acts as the host of the village at the sacrificial ceremony. *Tual-Tanu* is literally Tual-daughter, Tual-servant, participating in the ceremony as servant. They are to assist the Tual host in the ritual performance. Tradition does not specify the exact number of the members of the *Tual-tanu*. It may vary from the village to another, corresponding to the village customs. In Suangpi Tual it is made of two members.

Tual ceremony starts in the evening time usually before the sun sets and ends before mid-night. To begin with, a certain amount of *zu* (fermented grain beer) is

8. A Report on "The History of Vangteh Tual" by Cin Ngaih Pau, Chairman of the Vangteh Village People's Council, 9-3-1981. Cin Ngaih Pau claims that the term *Sial-sawm* started to be applied in reference to the first instance of the sacrifice of *Sial* (mithun) to the Vangteh Tual.

9. The founding of Suangpi settlement was led by Zong Tuang of Naulak clan. So he served as the tribal chief of the village, and Dongh Ngen of Tomu clan acted as the village priest, Lam Kip of Suanphut as *Tual-Teek*, and Lam Tuang of Suanman family as *Tual-tanu* ("Suangpi Mualsuang").

collected from every household. Then the *zu* is mixed up in an earthen pot (*zu-beel*) and called *Tual-zu* which is filled with water, ready to be used for the rite. The ritual slaughter of the sacrificed victim is preceded by the priest's invocation to the village benefactor for receiving and accepting the animal as sacred one. He starts invoking the deities by spitting the *Zu-tui* (grain beer) around the altar and over its precinct. A pot of *zu* prepared by the *Tual* host is offered to the pillar. The ritual slaughter of the animals is started personally by the priest and is continued by the *Tual-tamu* until its death. The carcass is cut into parts and pieces as to what part to be offered, distributed, and boiled. The deity is offered some portions of the upper and lower jaws, the ear and the tongue, the head and tail, the liver and the heart, the kidney and the intestine, the tips of the hind and the fore legs, all representing the entire body. The meat offering is not burnt upon the altar, but is offered by placing it under the capstone of the platform. The skull is hung on the pole and the blood is smeared upon the altar. Kim Zam was the *Tual* priest of Phunom village. He invoked and addressed to the deity of his sacrifice as *Pi Khua-siam, Pu Khua-siam* which means somewhat like 'the Village Benefactor of Ancestors'. He recited the list of the founding fathers of the settlement¹⁰. He prayed for the general well-being and prosperity of the tribes. The priest prayed generally to the communal god for the healthy growth and the abundant yield of the crops, the well-being of the herd, for its protection of the community from raid and territorial integrity, for withholding catastrophe and clamity, and other natural disasters¹¹.

In early days, the village priest or the *Tual* host may have borne the sacrificial expenses¹². Today the expenses are equally shared and subscribed by all the individual households. At the same time, the sacrificial meat is also divided equally and distributed among the households of the village. It is not known when the system of subscription for the sacrificial expense was in practice. It is very likely that with the adoption of monetary system, the subscription was made in terms of money. Like in other villages, money was collected in Suangpi village, too, in the same system as *zu* was collected.

The study of *Tual* sacrifice has revealed that the sacrificial rite involves the participation of all individual households by means of subscribing the expense and equally sharing the sacrificial meat. This fact symbolizes the idea of sharing common meal. It also implies the equal sharing of the divine providence bestowed upon the

10. The ritual invocation of Phunom *tual* says, "Ka Pi Khua-siam, Ka Pu Khua-siam in, ka zu na sang in ka sa na sang in; tun Tawng Khuasat khua na siam in, Tun Lam khuasat khua na siam in, Mang Hill khuasat, Suan Tawng khuasat, Phut Lam khuasat khua na siam in", meaning the settlement founded by Tun Tawng, Tun Lam, Mang Hil, Suan Tawng, Phut Lam, be blessed. (A personal interview with Kim Zam by the author, 1984).
11. The ritual prayer of Suangpi *Tual* says, after reciting the names of the founders of the village, "Ka khua siam in, thawh niang hong ngen ing, ka khua siam in mat niang hong ngen ing; lumpuak niang teipuak niang, hong ngen ing; cidam niang, mulmam niang, it niang ngaih niang hong ngen ing". This is somewhat like thus : "O my god, bless my village; I pray thee for obtaining many wild beast; I pray thee for the victory in war; I pray thee for the abundant yield in the field, for the healthiness of the tribes, for the love and care for one another, etc." (A personal interview with Rev. Thang Kam, the Pastor of Khuano Baptist Church in Tedim Baptist Association, 1980).
12. The Saizang chronicles says that Mang Sum, the village tribal chief offered a he-goat to the cave below the village from which Thung Thu and Nem Niang, the couple of Zo progenitors came out from under-world.

community as a whole¹³. It further signifies the spiritual sense of sealing the covenant between the members of the tribal society.

Every offering requires ritual abstention (*zeh tang*). As the sacrifice is made in concern with the entire community, all households and individual persons are equally bound to abide by the ritual abstention. The correct performance of the rite in conformity with the established customs is essentially important if the purpose of the offering were to be realized. The rite is to be conducted strictly according to the customary procedure and practices in which the participants in the ritual performance are to be very careful not to speak about what tradition holds sacred. There are many taboos and restrictions to observe. For instance, female person should not sit on the stone altar in the same tradition as "You shall not go up by step to my altar, that your nakedness be not exposed on it" (Exod. 20:26). A waste should not be made within the Tual precinct; Tual shrines should not be insulted; and so on. Therefore, in addition to the official as ritual duty, only a very limited number of elders are allowed to take part in the administration of the sacrifice.

The day following the offering is set apart for the day of communal abstention from going out of the village. On that holy day, 'no leave shall be withered'; that is, *Sawl si lo ding*, in Tedi. It means that the life of any plant, whether of grass or tree, should not be taken off. This prohibition is regarded as the most serious thing to be observed strictly by everyone because one man's sin is believed to have brought retribution upon the whole society. So in observing the sacred rite the whole village abstains from going out on that sacred day; even the cattles are kept at home less they might kill the life of plants. No outsider (*Khual*) is permitted to enter into the territory of the village. Any violation of this custom is considered serious and is regarded as an encroachment upon the village. In case of any infringement, the one who infringes is held to incur the sacrificial expenses. It is thus the inter-tribal convention to inform the neighbouring village in advance of the date of the offering to be made.

13. The belief of sharing the divine providence by every households on the equal sharing of the Tual sacrificial expenses by all was held in contempt by the new converts of Christianity, who flatly refused to subscribe the Tual expenses. Relating to the new belief, a case was brought to the Tedi Sub-divisional Magistrate. The magistrate then was Rundle. The case was a dispute relating to the protest to subscribe the tual expense by the Christian converts in Tungtuang village near the present Tonzang town. The case was tried at the office of Kamhau Chief in Tonzang. The Christians were led by Thang Nok with his associates - Ngul Vial, Suan Cin, Kham Thang, and others. Rundle started hearing first the witnesses of the prosecutor, who accused that the Christians protested the village custom to subscribe the tual expense due to them. The magistrate asked, "*Bang hangin 'Dawi-demte' in Tual bawlman pia nuam lo uh ahi hiam ?*" (Why the protestors do not want to subscribe the Tual expense ?). Then to answer this question, the Tual priest Dim Kham was summoned to the court. In witnessing to the court, Dim Kham said, "*tual bawlna pen hih 'dawidemte' leh mi khempeuh' nuntakna dingin, guahui ngetai hi a, hi napi-in amau in tua Tual bawlna sumbeite pia nuam lo uh hi*". (Tual sacrifice is made to ask for good shower of rain for all people including these protestors to live). The magistrate asked the Christian, "*Bang hangin no Dawi-demte' in tual bawlna sumbeite pia nuam lo na hi hiam*" (Why you, the protestors, do not want to subscribe the Tual expense ?). Then the 'Dawi-demte' in defence said, "*Tual bawlna pen Dawi biakna hi a, kote in Dawi bia nuam nawn lo ka hih manun, tua Tual sum bei leh kote kisai nawn lo hi*" (Tual sacrifice is the worship of demons that we have already forsaken it to worship only God. So we are no longer obliged to bear the expenses for the offering). Then after hearing from both parties in dispute, Rundle declared and said, "*Dim Kham aw, mailam-ah hih dawi-demte aa dingin, thu ngetsak nawn kei ta in, amau a sih nop uh leh si zaw ta uh hen*" (Dim Kham, in future you need no longer to pray for these protestors; let them better die due to the lack of your prayer for them). [A personal interview with Lam Khaw Thang, the father of Rev. Simon Pau Khan En, at his residence in Yangon, on 10-7-1986].

On that abstention day, the Tual priest and the Tual host alike observe at their respective homes and the villagers gather themselves together in groups at their respective social centres called *sawm*. The house of the inheriting son of the clan represent the place of the centre for the social gathering of the families of the clan concerned. There the family or the clan members ate and drank together in fellowship in accordance with the customs of the village concerned. The meal and the drink thus partaken in fellowship is termed *lawm-zu*, *lawm-an* in Tedim. This customary practice of *lawm-an-nek*, communion gathering, strikingly resembles that of the Hebrew in which "Moses offered a sacrifice on the mountain, and called his kins to tarry at the foot of the mountain where they beheld God and ate and drink (Exod.24:11-14).

To Zo, Tual or Mual is the sacred place and the communal sanctuary as well. Its ritual rules restrict the number of people to enter into its precinct in the same tradition as it is written, "Moses alone shall come near to the LORD; but the other shall not come near, and the people shall not come up with him"(Exod. 24:2). The belief involves that an insult to Tual precinct does not escape divine punishment¹⁴. The traditional belief in the sacredness of Tual altar can be likened to the Mosaic tradition which says, "You shall set bounds for the people round about, saying, take heed that you do not go up with the mountain or touch the border of it; whoever touches the mountain shall be put to death" (Exod.19:12).

Zo House Building

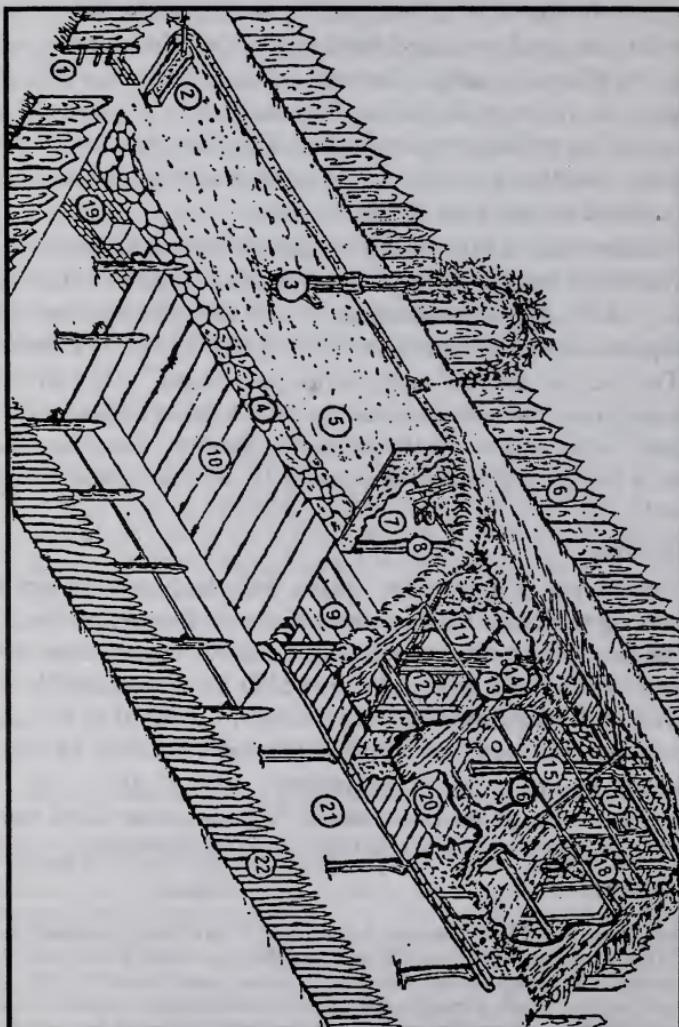
The religious rites performed in concern with the household inside the house compound indicate that house buildings were constructed corresponding to the household sacrifices. In order to properly understand the ritual feature and the religious belief of the household sacrifices, a brief description of Zo house may need to be made. All Zo houses were built on the same general principle, but varied in size and pattern in accordance with the varied practices of rites in different tribal areas. The common factor is that all building materials were of non-ironware material. An axe and a knife alone serve as the implements of the construction. Big trees were felled, split, chipped, trimmed, and smoothed with axe¹⁵. Relating to early house building, Carey and Tuck recorded as follows :

14. Suan Vungh is a sorcerer of Dimlo village in Tedim township. He relates his experience to the author, and he said, "On a certain day when I was still young, a mithun was tied with ropes to be slaughtered. The mithun was struggling against its ropes and a tug-of-war was ensued between the mithun on the one side and some men on the other side. During the moment of the ensuing struggle, a rope accidentally got involved with the tual altar. As the result of this, the stone altar was badly demolished. Then within the year of this incident, the village elders eight in number died". (Personal interview with him at Phut Za Kap's house in Kalemoy on March 6, 1983). Similar belief is mentioned in the chronicle of Suangpi village too, "Suangpi Mualsuang".

15. El Thuan, the immediate ancestor of Naulak clan, tells about his extraction of *hual* wood with axe in his song as thus :

Lento sunga hualpi aw e,
 Kawlhei tawi-in va la'ng e,
 Cial in dawh'ng e tam na e.
 [I extract hual-wood from the thick
 Forest with my axe.
 I extract with my axe that I use it
 As flooring grandly flat.]

A PRECUT SHOWING ZO HOUSE WITH ITS COMPOUND FACING WEST



1. KONGPAL (GATE)	12. BANGKUA (MAIN DOOR)
2. KONGKUANGTUI (GATE WATER TANK)	13. TAPTUNG (HEARTH)
3. TON' SONG (SACRIFICIAL PILLAR)	14. MEIKHUK (FIRE PLACE)
4. SUANGPHAH (STONE SLABS)	15. SUTPI (CHIEF PILLAR)
5. INNTUAL (COURTYARD)	16. MIMBEM, TANGBEM (GRANARY)
6. GAWL (COMPOUND FENCING)	17. HOUSEHOLD ALTER
7. SUMTAWNG (GROUND VERANDAH)	18. SIALLU SUT (BACK PILLAR)
8. KOTKA SUT (FRONT PILLAR)	19. SIALKONG (CATTLE GATE)
9. INN LIIM (FLOORED VERANDAH)	20. PIALKHANG (FLOOR BELOW FIRE PLACE)
10. INNKA (RAISED PLATFORM)	21. INNUAI (CATTLE DEN)
11. LUPNA (SLEEPING BED)	22. INNUAI GAWL

Individual houses in the Siyin-Sokte tract were very large, but they have all been destroyed during the various recent expeditions and it will be many years before fine houses are seen again in their country.¹⁶

The Chief's houses seem to be larger. It is reported that the house site of Sung Hang, the Kalzang Chief, in the ruined capital of Kalzang is 143 feet long, 65 feet broad and its Kunlup is 64 feet broad¹⁷. In Haka area a house was 20 feet high by 50 to 200 feet long and some 30 feet broad, according to the position and affluence of the owner. To give a rough picture of Zo traditional house the Tedim pattern of the smallest size is given here as a sample. Until today, houses in rural areas are built facing either east or west and this sample is the one facing west. As practised in Suangpi village, the smallest size of house building is roughly 30 feet (five fathoms) long, 20 feet (three fathoms) broad, and about 8 to 10 feet high from the floor to the beam.

As the country is a hilly region, houses are built across the hill slope in the shape of barrack. The slope is cut off to obtain two levels of two flat ground with an equal length of about 60 feet on the two level grounds and the other 30 feet is reserved for the court yard called *Leitual* or *Inntual* in the upper ground and for the raised platform called *Innka* in the lower ground. A part of the upper ground about 20 to by 10 feet is called *Kunlup* or *Kulhtawng* in Tedim and the cut creates two corners in the lower ground forming an L shape of ground. One is the front corner and the other is the back corner. These two corners determine the size of the main body of the house.

There are four main posts called *Sut* carrying the roof. Their positions specify the composition of the house building and each post defines the house space that it creates. They are erected in a row from front to rear in between the rows of the side posts called *Ban* supporting the roof from left and right. A main post is planted at the edge of the house building in the upper ground to be called the front post. Next to it another main post is planted at the front corner of the lower ground in facing with the one at the back corner of the same ground. At the place of equal distance between the front corner post and the back corner post is erected another main post called *Sutpi*, the chief pillar. The pace between these two corner posts is floored off the lower L shape ground in a level with the upper ground. The floored space around the chief post forms the inner house or the house proper, where the family dwells. The space is enclosed from the four sides by walls which are constructed against the posts of the four sides. Flat timbers about four inches thick and about two feet flat are laid on the floor across the breadth of the building in against each of the corner posts. This timber is called *Sang-kil* which is thread held crossed over when entered into the space concerned. The frame of the doors and that of the walls are fitted in with the flat timber. The front door is called *Baangkua* (main door) in reference to which is likewise called *Baangkua-sut*, the front door pillar. Entry into and exit from the inner house are made through this door. The door beside the back pillar is called *kawmheek* through which the family members make a casual exit.

The house space under the roof is divided into inner house called *Innsung* and outer house called *Innpua*. The inner house covers two third of the house space under the roof,

16. Carey and Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, I: 176.

17. Nginh suan, *Kalzang Suante Beh Khang Tangthu*, 42.

separated from the outer by the front wall. According to the Chief's house in Mualbem village, a flat timber is laid against the chief pillar (*Sutpi*) in across the breadth of the building, divides the inner house into inner part and outer part. The word 'inner' here denotes the back side and 'outer' denotes the front side. And, again, the row of the main post divides the inner house into *Pial-sak*, the up-hill side and *Pial-khang*, the down-hill side. Hence the chief Pillar standing at the central point of the inner house divides and holds together the four parts of the inner house. Each of these spaces covers an area of 10 square feet, i.e., one fourth of the entire space. These parts are distinguished by how the places are used.

The fireplace called *Tap*, hearth, lies in the Outer part beside the front wall of the up-hill side. This place contains the main fireplace and sleeping. Here are kept the family ornaments such as the strings of onyx bead¹⁸ (*Khiipi-gui*), etc. The dining place lies in the same part by the front door in the down hill side. Here are kept the dining and cooking utensils such as the wooden plates (*ankuang*), the gourd scoop (*ankeu*), the gourd pots (*Tui-uum*), the bamboo pipes (*zupeeng*), and so on. The place in the inner part occupying the space beside the back wall of the down-hill side is used for multi-purpose. The family toilet is at the corner of the walls. Here are kept the gongs (*zaam*)¹⁹, the musical plates (*daak*), the spinning and weaving materials, and so forth.

The space of the inner part of the inner house occupies the place in the up-hill side between the back post and the chief pillar. This part of the inner house is unique in the sense that it is used. The place itself is divided into two parts. The outer part covers the space of 10 feet by 6 feet separated from the inner part by a panelled wall. According to the Saizang Chief's house, a *Sangkil* (Flat timber threshold) running across divides the space. Here are kept the treasured goods such as weapons of war and chase (*Lum leh Tei*), the liquor pots (*zu-beel*), the copper cauldron (*Tau-bel*), the drum (*Khuang*), etc. The family granary (*mimbem, tangbem*) is placed within this space. And the dead body is kept in front of the back corner post²⁰. The parents' bed made with flat timber about four to six feet broad is placed against the chief post in parallel with the fireplace and beside this bed is used for the child birth²¹.

The inner part of the inner house measuring 10 feet by 4 feet occupies the space by the back wall of the up-hill side. The place is separated from the outer part by a panelled wall (or a *Sangkil*) and embraces the space around the back corner post. On this post is hung the skull of the sacrificed mithun. The post is, therefore, given the name *Siallu-sut* where *siallu* is mithun skull. It exists like a pillar to which is attached the altar termed *Dawi-bawm*²² in the Vaihei dialect. The place around the post represents the

18. The *Ton* feasting song says, "Ka bansak en aw, khii-nu khii-pa san na singseng e". This means, "O look at my ban-post to the up-hill side where the strings of onyx bead are sparkling in crimson red."
19. The same verse say, "Ka bankhang en aw, zaam-nu zaam-pa zaam na zinzian e". "O look at my ban-post to the down-hill side, where the gongs are lying stately".
20. There is a beam connecting the two posts, supporting the roof from the up-hill side and the down-hill side. A pile of two wooden poles is tied to this beam in a vertical line to the floor. Of this wooden frame is made the sundon where the dead body is seated.
21. All women of the family gave their child birth at the place by the parent's bed. This practice seems to have connection with the legendary birth of the ancestor of the Guite clan, where the "illegitimate son" is placed in the family granary.)See Appendix - IV).
22. D.K. Sanga, "Vaihei Bible Released", *Asian Baptist Review*, Vol. 9, No.2, 1981.

precinct of the household altar. This place is thus set apart and partitioned. A pole taken from sacred trees²³ with a size as big as a man's arm and about 5 to 6 feet long is erected in against the back wall. Beside the top end of the pole is attached a cane plate about six inches diametre to the back wall. This simple plate serves as the household altar and the pole represents the sacrificial pillar. The sacrificiaial meat and cereal are offered here.

Of all the inner house, *Innsung* in Tedim, the space that is set apart and partitioned represents the precinct of the household altar, and is termed INNSUNGPI. The term *Innungpi* in the sense of physical area refers not merely to the inner of inner house, but to the innermost inner house' in the relation to the outer house in the same sense with "the innermost inner house" in relation to the outer house in the same sense with "the innermost part of the house"(IKgs.6:27). This biblical term is translated into Tedim as "biakinn sung tawngnung". This 'Innsung tawngnung' is in the sense of religion associated with what is sacred like "the most holy place" (Exod.26:34). In practice, *Innsungpi* is never referred to in its physical sense. Therefore it denotes the sacred place, and sometimes the rite is described as *Innungpi-thoih* equivalent to *Pu-sha thoih*. According to this religious conception, it looks as if the Zo ancestor god resides in the innermost inner house in like manner as 'Yahweh himself resided over the cherubim' of the 'innermost part of the house'.

It has been said that where *Innsung* refers to the inner house, *Innpua* refers to the outer house under the same roof. Where the inner house occupies two third, the outer house occupies one third of the entire space of the house. Like the in house, it is a flat space made up of the floored ground of the down-hill side and the flat ground of the up-hill side. It may be called the verandah of the house. The space is again divided by the front post into *Innlim* and *Sumtawng* where *Innlim* can be referred to as 'the floored verandah' and *Sumtawng* as 'the ground verandah'. The floored verandah is used mainly for sitting room and for social gathering on minor occasions. The ground verandah is used mainly for pounding grains and for keeping the firewoods. The place is referred to as *Sumtawng*, because the *sum*(mortar) and the *suk* (pestles) are being kept and used there.

The ground verandah extends towards the front side to form the house yard, an area of about 30 feet by 20 feet. A platform about the same size is constructed off the lower ground in a level with that of the house yard. It is called *Inncaa* and planks about two inches thick, eighteen inches broad, and eighteen feet long, hewa out from big trees are used for the floor. A foot-path called *Suangphah* overlaid with slabs of stone about two feet wide is leading from the floored verandah to the front gate connecting the raised platform with the court yard. This creates an open space in front of the house building even larger than the roofed space. The *Inncaa* is railed to prevent people from falling down to the ground. The large open space is mainly used for public gathering on ceremonial occasion such as the feasts of merit, funeral rites, and so forth. The entire space underneath the floor is fenced with wall poles called *gawl* to keep the domestic animals. This space extends to the down-hill slope to embrace certain area called *Huan*, the kitchen garden. Here are grown vegetables and other crops for the kitchen use.

23. The tree on which no beast like crow, eagle, bear, etc., made nest is traditionally considered as sacred. (A personal interview with Cin Ngaih Pau of Vangteh village on March 9, 1981 at Suangpi village).

The area that includes the kitchen garden, the house building, and the open flat space constitute the house compound fenced around, probably fortified in early days. Flat timbers called *Taap* in Tedim were used for the fence; trimmed and carved timbers were used in fortifying the Chief's compound in Haka area. The walled fence with timber posts was bored to obtain a hole for the fronth gate in an oval shape. Oak trees were used for the carved posts and the occasion of erecting them was usually accompanied with feasts. In Tedim area the *Kongkuang-tui*, the gate water tank, was positioned by the front gate, in the inside of the compound.

The house site was chosen in consultation with the local god concerned by divination and the beginning of the construction of the house building was preceeded by an offering. The same offering was made when dismentled and rebuilt. The position of the building from west to east could not be altered²⁴, nor could the size of the building be reduced or be enlarged. All this element of tradition has testified to the fact that the house compound thus fenced or fortified is a sacred ground. Any violation of it is held as a transgression of the 'Sacred Ground'. Therefore, the ground thus enclosed in the house at large, sacred and inviolable. This further involves the sense that the Zo term INN (house) primarily refers its meaning not merely to the building that provides shelter, but the whole compound where the household benefactor dwells with the family. So house in tradition denotes the dwelling place of one's ancestor-god.

The Ancestor Sacrifice

The offering to the ancestor-god belongs to the household rites and it is of two kinds: one is the annual offering with pig and the other is the sacrifice of mithun. The offering with mithun is made usually once in a life time. The acount of the mithun sacrifice will be given under a separate heading. Of the new born pigs, a male one without blemish is set part for offering to the ancestor-god, in the same tradition which says, "All the firstling males that are born of your herd and flock you shall consecrate to the LORD your God"(Exod.15:19). Though annually offered there is no date fixed on which to offer. The clan-priest went round annually to his tribal area and administered the rite. Besides this, special offerings were also made whenever the need arises. Whenever called upon he is obliged to go.

The rite involves animal offering, cereal offering, and drink offering. The preparation for these offerings needs some ritual services. So it demands the participation of familial relatives, the *Tanu-beh* relatives, of whom the principal daughter (*Tanupi*) take the unique part. She and the priest alone could enter into the 'innermost of inner house' (*Innsungpi*) where the ancestor god is believed to be residing. Therefore, the principal daughter is sometimes referred to as *Sungtaa* or *Tanupi* the one who serves in the 'innermost of inner house'.

The rite is performed at night. The sacrificed victim, the pig, is taken out from its den. After being cleased, it is brought in and placed by the back post (*Siallu-sut*). The priest after saying his ritual prayer kills it with the pointed rod (Tull). The carcass is cut into pieces in accordance with the customs and boiled. The organ parts - the lung, the

24. Relating to the Inviolability of Zo house, the Ton'ritual song called *Inntaam la* cites thus : "Phaphet ing ci'n thi nei ing e lung ka sit na om lo e. Thai lungsit kinkheek thei a, saa gawlsia kiheek mawh e". (I am not sorry to get married as I think I deserve. Though the dispirited wife can return to her parents, the ruined wall (house) can not be altered)

heart, the kidney, the intestine, etc. are boiled in the innermost of inner house, while the other parts are boiled in the family fireplace. The ritual function to be done by the principal daughter includes the cooking of the cereal food and the preparation for the drink offering. The cereal food called *Sian-an* (also called *an-hang* in the propitiatory rite) is made with millet and *bepi*, a kind of bean. For the drink offering it is made with fermented millet and is called *Sian zu*. While the cereal food is cooked in the fireplace of the altar in the 'innermost of the inner house', the drink offering is being prepared at the base of the back post²⁵.

The sacred place of the inner house covers the space between the chief post and the back post. Within this perimeter of space is performed the sacrificial rite. The ritual procedure involves what is traditionally called *Sian-na*, the rite of purification. All the family members and relatives in the relationship get together there to be purified. The sacred service includes the rite of smearing the blood of the sacrificed. The sacred service includes the rite of smearing the blood of the sacrificed victim upon the body around the back-bone, the fore-head, and the abdomen of the father and the mother of the householder²⁶. In case of the absence of the father, a son can substitute in his stead. All taking part in the ceremony commonly share in the purification by sipping the drink offering (*Sian-zu*) having been consecrated by the priest and by partaking the cereal meal, and by being anointed with the fat oil of the sacrificed animal, so that they may be purified in like manner as the Aaronic holiness²⁷. While all participants of the *Tanu-beh* group are being purified in the sacred place, the *Pu* (the house of the mother's father) is being offered the sacred meal in the floored verandah, (*Innlim*) in the outer house. This special offering is termed *Sungh-gau*, literally meaning the spirit of the *Pu* house. The *Sungh* or *Pu* in this rite is represented by anyone whether of male or female from the house of *Pu*.

Two pieces of the sacrificed animal's breast and some cereal are put into the cane plate, the hanging altar. The priest in offering the meat and the cereal recites the formulae of the ritual prayer. He addresses the deity of his sacrifice with reference to the personal names of the fore-fathers. He recounts the list of the pedigrees and asks them to be well-pleased with what he offers and to bestow upon the family good health and prosperity.

The sacrificial meat is distributed among the relatives according to their filial rank and position in the familial relationship²⁸. According to the present practice, the Naulak

25. A certain amount of *zute*, fermented millet is put into an earthen pot and mixed with water. Then the liquid is again sucked out with *peeng*, a bamboo tube siphon. The liquid thus sucked out is used for the drink offering.

26. The pointed red (*tuu*) used in the ritual killing of the sacrificed animal is stained with blood. The priest waves the blood stained rod over the abdomen, the fore-head, and the backbone as he mutters his prayer. Then he paints those parts of the body with the blood.

27. "And you shall say to the people of Israel, 'This shall be an holy anointing oil unto me through your generations'" (Exod. 30:31).

28. The number of ranks and position in the *Inndongta* varies from one village to another. According to the practice in Suangpi village, there are five levels of rank in both the *Tanu*-group and the *Beh*-group. If the sacrificed animal is pig, the portion of the ribs close to the backbone is distributed to the *Tanu*-group. The portion of the hind leg cut off from the hollow of the thigh is given to the *Thalloh*, the avenger of the clan. It is called *abul*.

clan priest is given the front leg (*aliang*) in a similar tradition, "They shall give to the priest the shoulder"(Deut.18:3). The Suante clan priest is given the *a meizu* part probably equivalent to "the fat tail entire, taking it away close by the the backbone"(Lev.3:9).

The parents who are anointed with the blood observe the rite at home for a period of seven days. A wooden pillar about six feet high and a bamboo tree are jointly erected beside the front gate of the house compound. The erection of this sacrificial pillar marks the event of the offering to *Pu-sha* which personifies the household benefactor - the ancestor god. The religious and historical significance of the *Pu-sha* rite is that of belonging to one another in the *Inndongta* relationship in which the familial members are being linked to one ancestry.

The Ton' Feast

Off all household ceremonia lrite, Ton' is the greatest one. The Tedim term *tong* means feasting and *ton'* is sacrificial feast. *Ton'* rite involves two contrasting senses. It is performed as the greatest feast of Merit. The same cultural sense is expressed as *Bawi-lam* and *Khuangcawi* in the Haka area. *Ton'* can be likened to the Adonijah's royal feast to Zoheleth, the Serpent Stone (IKgs. I:9). It is of two kinds. One is *Sialtang-sut* where *sial* is mithun²⁹, *tang* refers to single, and *sut* means ritual killing with the pointed rod (*Tull*). Thus it would mean a single mithun feast. The other is *Sialkop-gawh* where *kop* means couple and *gawh* means slaughter. So the feast would mean a couple mithun feast. In the former feast one male mithun is sacrificed and in the latter feast a couple of mithun is sacrificed. In either one, the religious and cultural sense remain the same. *Ton'* feast is performed in co-relation with the *Innsungpi*, the rite of the inner most of inner house. It fact *Ton'* is an enlarged offering to the *Pu-sha*.

Unlike the communal sacrifice, *Ton'* feast is a household ceremony where the three descent groups of relatives in the *Inndongta* are by virtue of familial relationship involve. It is in another form a communal convocation. In addition to the sacrificial mithun, so many and other kinds of animal such as buffalo, ox or cow, goat, pig, etc. are offered by the familial relatives. It is not, therefore the kind of feast given by one alone. It is a kind of Solomonic sacrifice to the LORD. It is said that in the *Ton'* feast given by Kam Hau, the tribal Chief, over fifty mithuns were sacrificed. The sacrificed mithun must be the one, a black male mithun without blemish; it must not be blind, lame, etc: If the rite is a single mithun feast, a male pig is first offered to the household altar, and if it is couple mithun feast, a male pig and a female pig are offered.

As *Ton'* is not a regular offering, tradition does not fix any particular day or moon for the ceremony. It is fixed in adjustment with the solar system. In most cases it is held during the winter probably to avoid the rain, usually on a full-moon day³⁰. The feasting

29. The term mithun is an Indian term for Yak.

30. One verse of the ritual songs indicates the time of the feast as thus :

- (a) Solkha na val laitak a Ton' zawi ka kaih,
Na val lahmei de ngawn ing e.
- (b) Na val in lahmei de ngawn ing e,
Ton' sawl nuai-ah ningin luan' ngiungeii ing e.

[(a) Whilst thou, the moon, art bright,
I am feasting in thy light that I
Have as my torch light.
(b) Having thy light as my torch, I offer
The joyful drink under the
Sacrificial leafy tree.]

period ends with the end of the moon, so the sacrificial period covers at least the period of one moon. The sacrificial convocation involves a great deal of preparatory works. These are, for example, the collection of firewood to boil the sacrificial meat, the hewing of the sacrificial pillar (*Ton' song*), the finding for the mithun if not readily reared, the fermenting of *zu*, and others.

Ton' is a grand feast where the familial relatives, *Sungh leh Pu*, *Tu leh Maak*, *U leh Nau*, play their respective filial roles in their full capacity. It links the participation of nearly all the households of the village in some way or another. For the successful performance of the feast, additional assignments are allotted to close friends from non-familial relatives. Some significant of these are, for example, *Songteek* who is entrusted with the extraction of wood from the countryside for the sacrificial pillar called *Song*. *Zawl*³¹, intimate ally and friend who is assigned with the task of fetching fabric materials in the jungle for the sacrificial rope to tie the mithun, the *Mi-sam*, the messengers who are sent out to invite close relatives in other villages, and the *Tui-tawi* who are formed with maids headed by the *Tanu-sialbawl*³² in the *Inndongta* and are to fetch water to be used in the feast.

It has been said that the pig offering to the *Innsungpi* is marked by the setting of a wooden pillar beside the front gate. So also the mithun offering is marked by the setting up of a wooden pillar at the centre of the court yard *Inntual*. The pillar is set up jointly with a bamboo tree called *Ton' mung* with its top bending down³³. The wooden pillar is made with *Se-sing* or *Sim-sing*³⁴. The tradition is that one pillar represents one mithun. In Kanpetlet area in the Southern Chin State, the feast similar to *Ton'* is marked by the setting up of stone altar called *Lung-suang*. This rite is called the 'feast of carrying slab of stone' *Kyauk-pying-thee-pwe* in Burmese. The number of sacrificed mithun is represented by an equal number of the stone altars in Kanpetlet area and wooden pillars in Tedim area. Those pillars in the Haka area are forked at the trunk. According to the Tedim pattern, the bough of the tree trunk is cut off about six inches from the crotch and the main trunk is spared to be the pillar about twelve to fifteen feet long and as large as the size of a man's thigh at the branched part.

The sacrificial feast commences with an offering of *Zu* to the spirit of the *Baangkua*, the front door of the house. In the following night, additional appointments of people to the various functions of the ceremony are officially declared. Since then preparations for the great feast are going on. When these preliminary works are completed, a ritual call on is made with a pot of *Zu* to the house of the *Pu* by the sacrificer, the householder. This is to apologize to his *Pu*, properly the *Sungh*, the father-in-law of the sacrificer, if there had existed any misunderstanding between the *Pute* and the *Tute* and to seek the *Pu*'s approval to commence the feast.

31. Kamkhenthang refers to this office of relationship as "a pack friend" (*The Paite*, p.45).
32. Relating to the formation of *Inndongta* as practised in *Suangpi* village, the *Tanu*-group is formed with five members of which the second and the third position assist the principal *Tanu* (or *Haitawi* or *Sungtaa*) and the fourth and the fifth called *Tanu-sialbawl* are responsible for the killing, the cutting, the boiling, the distributing, and all of the sacrificed animal, particularly in the funeral ceremony. The first, second, and third are responsible for matters relating to the dead body.
33. See, Fig. 2.
34. Though *Se-sing* is used, the wood is referred to as "*Sim-sing*" in the poetic word. *Sim-sing* grows in the *sim* part and *Se-sing* grows in the *lai* (middle) part of a mountainous country. Either *Sim-sing* or *Se-sing* may have been used in lieu of oak wood.

The way and the manner the *Ton'* rite is administered shows as if the *Pu* represents the deity of the sacrifice. The *Pu* would not be provoked and be angered; but be kept in a state of pleasant mood within the feasting period. The *Pu* is collectively represented by its patrician relatives of the sacrificer's wife, headed by the *Pupi*, the inheritor of the clan.

The ritual period of the feast generally covers seven days similar to the Levitical rite, "You shall keep it as a feast to the LORD seven days in a year" (Lev.23:41). As practised in Khuano area in Tedim township, the unique part of the feasting period takes three days. These days will be noted as the second day, the third day, and the fourth day of the ritual period. Each day is described by various words in different localities of cultural areas. For the sake of description, the terms used in Khuano area as mentioned by Captain Zel Khai will be adopted in this study.

Soon after the offering of *Zu* to the *Pu*, the ritual feast commences. The pre-feasting day is termed *Gau-khawl-ni*(*Innka-dawh-ni* in Suangpi on which the raised platform is repaired for the safe gathering of people). On this day the invited relatives from distant villages arrive; the sacrificial pillar, *Song* is brought in from the country side. The bamboo tree, *Ton'mung* is brought as the leafy tree. All this tree and leafy tree resembles "You shall take on the first day the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and boughs of leafy trees, and willows of the brook" (Lev.23:40). On this day, the space of the outer house is cleansed and repaired for the feast. The *Sial Khau*, the mithun rope, is threaded of the fabric materials brought by the *Zawl*, friend. The sacrificial mithun is brought underneath the house. The firewoods to boil the meats of the sacrifice are collected and brought to the place of the feast. The *Ton' song* is set up in the evening of that day. The members of the *Inndongta* are in meeting, discuss and draw programs for the great feast.

The second day is called *Pan-sik-ni*, the commencing day, on the day time of which what is called *Sa-baal*³⁵ and the animal offered by the *Thalloh* are slaughtered. In the evening time, the couple pigs (a male and a female) are sacrificed to the *Innsungpi* followed by the ritual killing of the mithun. The mithun is tied to the *Ton'* Pillar with the sacrificial rope and is made to round the pillar three times according to the practice of Naulak clan³⁶. Then the victim is made lying on the ground. The clan priest dressed in his priestly robe emerges out of the inner house and makes personally the ritual kill³⁷. In like manner as the rite performed in the pig offering, the couple of the sacrificers (father and mother) are consecrated by being anointed with the sacrificial blood. Then they start staying in the inner house in ritual observance. The *Ton'* Pillar is also anointed with the inner house in ritual observance. The *Ton'* Pillar is also anointed with the fat oil of pig, in the same rite as Jacob poured oil on the top of the stone pillar (Gen.28:18). The carcass is cut into parts and pieces to be distributed among the familial relatives. The skull is hung on the back post called *Siallu-sut*.

The third day is called *Sapi-ni* or *Zupi-ni* which means somewhat like the Feast proper, the grandest day, because the feasting house on that day is full of flesh, meat, and drink. Of all the animal offerings to the feast by the familial relatives, those of the *Pute* and the *Behte*(clan relatives) are killed on that day. The flesh of the sacrificed victim

35. *Sabaal* is a buffalo or ox specially offered for all the participants in the feast.

36. According to the Suante rite, there is no limited round. Young people play with the mithun throughout the whole day underneath the house.

37. The killing is continued by the *Tanu* until its death. It is killed by pounding the victim's nape with a pestle which is thrown away to the Kitchen garden.

is distributed according to the level of position in the *Inndongta* formation. Each household of these relatives brings to the feast at least a pot of *Zu* called *Zu-beel* the size of which corresponds to the level of position in the relationship. The closer is the relationship, the bigger the *zu-beel* is. Nearly almost every household in the village receives at least one piece.³⁸ Based on the order of the flesh distribution, the *Zu-beel* are paraded in a row along the line of the *Suangphah*. Those of the *Behte* led by the *Thalloh* are lined from the house verandah towards the front gate from which those of the *Pute* led by the *Pupi* are lined towards the house to meet with the *Behte*'s at the centre flanked by that of the *Thusa*.³⁹ These *Zu* are partaken by all the participants in accordance with the custom regulating the order of the drink. The day is signified by the setting up of the leafy tree, *Ton'mung* which is interesting to be mentioned in brief.

Ton'mung has been said as a bamboo tree mostly grown within the village area for general use. A long bamboo with its top bending down is chosen for the leafy tree. It is cut and taken to the feasting house on the second day, *Pan-sik-ni* by the *Tanupi*. It is anointed with the fat oil and placed on the top of the house roof laying along the length with the house building. After eating the meat and drinking the *zu*, the participants in the feast rise up in dancing and in singing the ritual songs. They are divided into the group led by the *Pute* and the group led by the *Behte*. Those led by the *Pute* are dancing in the Kitchen garden and those led by the *Behte* are dancing in the open space of the house courtyard and raised platform. In the evening before the sun sets, the dancing group in the garden comes in to the yard to join the dancing group there. At the hour the *Pute* group are entering the house courtyard mixing with the *Behte* group, the leafy tree with a piece of pork tied to its top end is taken down and planted jointly with the *Ton' Pillar*. At the moment the tree is being handed down from the roof, the person who handed down shouts out calling upon the wife-sacrifier in her personal name and ritually declares her as of the descent of her husband's ancestry which is referred to as *lup zo*.⁴⁰

38. The author was privileged to serve as a *Tanu* in the house of Pu Hang Awn in Suangpi village in 1958. It was the funeral ceremony of Captain Tun Za Cin who was killed in action in Phapom area of Karen State by the Insurgents and his dead body was carried back to his village. A big male mithun was sacrificed for the funeral. The village was eighty households. The flesh of the animal was distributed through the author's hand among the familial relatives. There were left only five households as non-relatives. But these were also given at least one piece each in recognition of them as household.

39. According to Suangpi custom, *thusa* is made up of two of which one is selected from non-relatives in the *Inndongta*, called *Veng thusa* and the other one is the fifth person of the five level of the *Beh* group, called *Beh Thusa*. H. Kamkenthang defines the function of the *Thusa* as arranging and conducting any affairs in the household. The main duty is to receive and record all the *Zu-beel* offered in the ritual ceremony and to arrange to be drunk in accordance with the village custom.

40. The ritual declaration of one's ancestry is termed *Min-Lawh*. The rite is performed upon only male person and is associated with the concept of genealogy. The declaration is made in reference to the immediate ancestor of the clan concerned. When this rite is performed upon woman, it is a ritual act of conferring on her status of male gender descended from her husband's ancestor. A woman named Pum Khaw Cing was of Suante clan represented by the ancestor Gen Zo and she married a man named Phut Za Cin of Naulak clan represented by the ancestor El Thuam. So, the descendants of El Thuam are declared as "El Thuam ii Tu" meaning El Thuam's offering. Pum Khaw Cing with her husband had given the two kinds of *Ton'* Feast when she died in 1976. She was honoured in her funeral ceremony with the status of male gender of the Naulak clan. The words of honour say thus: "Pum Khaw Cing tak-tee, si a thang a nung a thang a Pum Khaw Cing tak-tee, Sialtang sun a thang a volkthau leem a thang a, leisan tung a tuang a leingo tung a tuang a thang a, Pum Khaw Cing Khaw Cing tak-tee, Vanlai aa Mi, El Thuam ii tu, Khuathang aa Mi,". The same words of honour are spoken in the *ton'* Feast while the Bamboo Tree is planted jointly with the wooden pillar. Tradition does not explain what meaning the word *Tup Zo* represents. According to the ritual rule, the wife-sacrifier who is declared as "Tup Zo ii tu" seems to refer to the ancestor *Tup Zo* even if the name has had different meaning. The ancestor name *Tup Zo* strikingly resembles the Tedim poetic form *Pa zwa*, the Tibetan term *Pha-jo* and the Karen legendary father *Y'wa* in terminology and reference.

At the same hour the mithun's neck called *Sa-ngawng*, due to the house of *Pu*, is taken out of the feasting house and carried away to the house of *Pu*. The ritual dance goes on throughout the night.

The fourth day is called *Khuang-khuh-ni* (also called *Zin-khak-ni* or *Khek-leh-ni*). It is the last day of the feasting period on which the sacrificial feast is concluded by being stopped the beating of the Drum, *Khuang*. On this day the animals offered by the *Tanu*-group are slaughtered, and the day is occupied with continuous dancing and singing. The dance is ended abruptly by declaring that the string of the Drum is broken (*Khuangkhau kitat ei*). This marks the end of the feast. The fifth day is called *Bik-ni*, the ritual observance of the feast as the most sacred event like the Levitical rite of "solemn rest" (Lev.23:39). On this day the sacrificers (the father and the mother) stay in the inner house. They stay at their respective homes, and boil and eat the share of meat that they are given in the feast. The sixth day is *Sian hon ni* on which the ritual observance by the couple of the sacrificer ends; they come out from their ritual seclusion and appear to the outer house. They are supposed to come out being purified and freed from demonic influences. The closer relatives turn out again to the feasting house. The *Tanute* prepare and boil the flesh taken from the head of the offered animals. And they eat and drink together with the sacrificers in fellowship. The seventh day is the last day of the ritual period called *Salei huan ni* meaning, the day of boiling the tongues of the offered animals reserved for the day. Closest relatives come again to the feasting house, bringing with them meal and drink. The *Tanute* cleanse the feasting house and its compound by clearing away the ashes of the sacrificial fires, the filthy dusts and muds. It is the day on which the *Tanute* and the *Inntek* householder, eat and drink together, marking the close of the tribal convocation.

Ritual abstention is termed *Zéh-tang* in Tedim. The sacrificers after observing in the inner house still have to continue the abstention from going out of the house compound and from going to the place of ceremony in the village where drum is beaten for the period of ten days from the beginning of the feast. In case of the moon not ending yet, they have to observe till the end of the moon. For the period of one moon they still have to abstain from drinking *gam-tui*, country water. So they are required to bring home-water whenever they go out of the village area. The complete termination of the ritual abstention is marked by a special rite called *Sian hong*. It requires at least a wild beast. For this, a flying squirrel is hunted. It is performed at the end of the moon as a formal feast with which the sacrificial period terminates.

The Household Offerings

The household rites have been described as the offerings to the household gods and spirits in which the *Pu-sha* rite is the sacrifice to the ancestor god to seek the generous beneficence; other rites are aimed at pleasing the spirits of the dead which are jealous, affecting upon the household members in the form of illness. So these rites can be termed household offerings. Where the *Pu-sha* rite is administered by the clan priest, the household offerings are made by the household priest. Where the three descent groups participate in the *Pu-sha* rite, only the members of the patrician clan participate in the household offerings.

The rite called *Innteek* is literally the host of the house and is used to denote the rite of offering to the deads of the family. It is not the kind of regular offering, but it is made only when the need is felt. The significance of this rite is that it is made to *Sutpi*, the chief post which divides the space of the inner house into four parts. A male pig without blemish is used for the annual offering. The meat cannot be taken outside of the house, nor can it be given to non-clan members in a similar tradition, "An outsider shall not eat of a holy things" (Lev.22:10). This rite is called *Phungsa* or *Behsa*. Even the daughter of the clan who married to different clan cannot eat of it in the same rite as "If a priest's daughter is married to an outsider she shall not eat of the offering of the holy things" (Lev. 22:12). It is the clan communion and the partaking of the meat is described as *Innmai sa ne*. The membership of the clan is likewise termed *Innmaisa-ne khat* meaning the 'same partaker of clan meat'. The meat is eaten up on the same day in the same practice as "It shall be eaten up on the same day, you shall leave none of it until morning" (Lev.22:30). This rite can be likened to the Christian Communion Service where only the baptized members of the Church alone could partake of it.

Another rite is termed *Baangkua*, the name after the front door of the inner house. It is the offering to the spirit which is believed to be inhabiting the place of the front door. Its ritual function is administered beside the front door by the main post which divides the house into inner and outer. The rite is not performed regularly, but occasionally as the need of it arises. Unlike the *Innsungpi* and *Inn-teek* rites, a female pig which had given birth is sacrificed. Unlike as in the *Innteek* rite, the meat is distributed among the household of the clan who are organized in the same pattern as that of the *Inndongta*. Each family receives its due in accordance with its position, and can be brought away to their houses. The significant feature of this rite is the peculiar manner that the drink offering is administered. The consecrated *zu* is commonly shared by all the participants in the sacred service. The participants are seated in the form encircling the chief post, *Sutpi*. The *zu*-cup called *Hai-phei*⁴¹, an emptied gourd, is filled with the sacred *zu* (*zu siang*). The cup thus filled is passed on through the line of the man-formation. All await each turn to sip the drink. After sharing it by sipping the cup is returned back again to its starting place from where it is refilled by the conductor of the ritual sharing of the sacred drink. Then the cup is passed on again to the next person. The process of the cup thus passed on and returned back goes on and on till all the participants have partaken the drink.

Another offering is made to the front post in the outer house called *Sum-tawng*, the ground verandah. The rite is annually performed with the sacrifice of a sucking pig, and sometimes with a fowl. It involves the offering of the young plants of the crops in kind which are grown in the field for their healthiness. The root of this rite is supposed by some to have been related with the myth of "Thang Ho and Lian Do brothers" to whom the goddess say, "You shall offer me every year the fattest of your sucking pig". Another significant rite is *Huanmui biak*, the kitchen garden. It is the offering to the house compound; it is not an annual rite like that of the *Sum-tawng*, but is offered only when it is thought necessary, with a fowl. Its significance is that an altar-like stone platform

41. The Myth of "Thang Ho leh Lian Do Thu", *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dialect), No.4.

is made for the altar. Three stones about ten to twelve inches high are posted in a triangular shape and is capped with a slab of stone. The cereal and meat are placed upon this altar.

The Rite of Propitiation

The rite of propitiation can be again classified into the rites of appeasing and the rites of warding off evil-spirits which are supposed to have caused illnesses to the individual persons. The rite of appeasing involves the offering of animals and things that are regarded as valuable in the sense of wealth and treasure. For example, the graven images of slave, mithun, gong, musical plate, etched onyx beads, etc., are offered to please the spirits. These objects are offered in exchange for the captured soul. The rite of expelling or warding off evil spirits is the display of magical power in which the sorcerer uses words as such having the force of energy. For example, the word *Zauhang* is used in the *Phaikham* rite like the one associated with power. In the propitiatory rite, the valuable goods are offered to the place chosen for the rite. Of the fifty four spirits, *Gam-pi* and *Gun-lam* are the chief gods the offerings to which are made by the propitiator concerned.

Gampi is the rite of offering to the country spirits. The rite has its origin in the mountain cult. As practised in *Suangpi*, a sucking pig or a fowl is sacrificed and the offering is made to an altar-like platform made with wooden stick. The propitiator calls to the spirits of the country by referring to the names of popular mountain ridges such as *Musip*, *Vuichip*, *Innbuk*, *Thahpuang*, and so forth. And, again, *Gunlam* is the offering to the river gods the chief god of which is *Khangnel* of the *Livei*, the great Whirl-pool in the Manipur river. In *Tedim* area, *Khuulpi*, the great Cave within the village tract of *Phaileng* represents a river god, probably *Khangnel*. According to the practice in *Suangpi*, the offering is made by a big tree in a place which overlooks the river and streams. The sacrifice to the river gods is made in three stages. The first stage is made with the sacrifice with a pig or a fowl at a place near the village and the second stage is made with a goat at a place nearer to the *Khuulpi*. The third and the final offering is made to the *Khuulpi* with a goat. The propitiator calls to the significant places of river and streams in the country and also outside the country popularly known.

The Cultural Feature of Household Rites

The ritual accounts of the household sacrifices have shown a common feature that the offerings are made in the places where the main post, *Sut* are standing. The rite of the 'innermost of inner house, *Innsungpi*, is symbolized by the back main post on which the skull of the mithun is hung. In the same sense, *Innteek*, the rite of host, is offered to the chief post called *Sutpi* which is standing at the centre of the inner house. *Baangkua* or *Baangtung* spirit is offered by the front door post and *Sumtawng* is administered beside the front main post in the outer house. Although it is not certainly known whether the sites of these ritual performances are a mere coincidence, it looks as if these main posts symbolize sacred objects representing the deity of the sacrifice. These post are, therefore, analogous with pillars. This purports to be the reminiscence of the tradition which says, "And the LORD appeared in the tent in a pillar of cloud; and the pillar of cloud stood by the door of the tent"(Deut.31:15).

Of all the household rites, the 'innermost of the inner house' is most unique in the sense of religion and most meaningful in the sense of tradition and culture. If *Lungzai* represents the supreme god of the village, *Pu-sha* represents the supreme god of the household. The present practice suggests as if each household has its own ancestor. It has been, however, analyzed that *Pu-sha* seems to be the only one deity handed down to generations like separate deities to each clan. This reminds one of Joshua who teaches, "Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God is one LORD" (Deut.6:4)

It has also been mentioned that the wooden pillar which is set at the centre of the house court symbolizes the event of the *Ton*' Feast. When taken, it is not simply cut, but offered first. The offering prayer addresses to the tree and says that the pillar is taken with the sacrifice of mithun for wealth and prosperity⁴². The tree trunk is hewn and carved as such prescribed by the tradition. Every deed in dealing with it is done ritually. It is regarded and treated like an objects associated with the power of victory. It is referred to as *Tup Zo*.

Ton' feast is given for two reasons : Sometime it is initiated on the advice of divinor for physical healthiness. But in most cases, it is given with the intention of attaining prestigious position in the social relation. The feast given in that sense can be rightly said as *Bawi-lam* in the Haka practice. The status of *Bawi* is attainable by giving the feast of merit. So the Lai term for title *Bawipa* may be equivalent to the Tedim term *Hausa* in origin, where the word *hau* is rich or wealthy that involves the sense of influential. Today the Tedim term *Hausa* is used for the office of 'headman' in English. Hence *Khua-Bawi-pa* in Haka and *Khua Hausapa* in Tedim.

There is a great contrast between the rite of *Innsungpi* and that of *Ton*', though both are made to the same deity. Every clan has the rite of *Innsungpi*, but does not have *Ton*'. The clan rite of Suante makes it clear that *Ton*' was originally reserved to only some significant clan⁴³. Its history and ritual account show that holding a *Ton*' was a noble rite probably handed down through the lineage of noble families. The cultural pattern of Shou kingdom as mentioned by *Fan-Ch'o* testifies to the truth that *Ton*' sacrifice symbolized by *Song* (pillar) was originally of royal rite.⁴⁴ According to *Fan Ch'o*, the

42. Captain Zel Khai, *Khamtung Tedim Gamsung, Khuano Kual a Kizang, Ngeina A thu leh Late*, 1954, 126.

43. One verse of the ritual songs of Suante Ton; discloses the history that the Suante bought the right to offer *Ton*' sacrifice. The clan chronicle says that the rite was bought from the buansing clan. The ritual song is recited as thus : 'Ka khua Kalzang Phaipi Hausa tuan a pa'n tangsial sun e. tuan a pa'n tangsial sun e, a zaiman buhtau ngen e' ("Suangpi Mualsuung", p.170).

44. The author was privileged to go a visit to Mongnai town in 1986 in the present Shan State. The Sawbwa's residential building was used for the office of the township People's Council. Two assemblages of pillars made with teak about twenty feet apart are still standing in front of the Chief's house, as the Gate of entrance into the house compound. Each assemblage holds together eight pillars of equal size with 14" diametre. Six of the eight pillars are about fifteen feet high and the other two are about sixty feet high. The eight pillars on each side are tied up in a bundle to form the frame of the gate. Each of the sixty feet high pillars is capped with a wooden plate designed like a crown in a square shape.

According to U Bo Nyo, the Secretary of the Mongnai Township Party Unit, in early days the Burmese kings usually invaded Thailand and their troops used to encamp at Mongnai. They (Burmese kings) regarded the feudal chief of Mongnai as their ally. The King who reigned in Ava house in 1205 B.E. conferred on the chief of Mongnai the right to erect pillar as an honour for the traditional tie between the two houses. What the Mongnai chronicle mentions as the Burmese king in 1205 B.E. is likely the king known as Shwebo Min or Thayawadi Min. (A personal interview with U Bo Nyo at the office of the township people's council, December 7, 1986)

term *shou* represented royalty which was characterized by the erection of Pillars carved in pattern with gold, at the centre of the palace. It looks as if, therefore, *Ton'* was originally the royal sacrifice to the ancestor Zo, called *Pu-sha* probably in substitution for the dreadful name Zo. All this strongly suggests that the title *Hausa* for the village headman was of late origin with reference to the prestigious status of the men of well-todo. It is likely that the giving of the feasts of merit as a noble undertaking enhanced the dignity of the feast giver to become an influential figure over the members of the tribes. Hence the word *hausa* developed to connote the one who is dignified and influential. It is the one who accumulated wealth in terms of materials including slaves and human heads obtained in the game of war. Therefore, the social function of *Hausa* is inherently associated with secular realm rather than that of religion.

Viewing from another aspect, *Ton'* rite is connected with the idea of naturalization of ethnic race. The marriage custom of Zo people involves a rite called *Aak-mit-et* in Tedim similar to *Ar-sa-thah* in Haka. According to the Tedim practice, the bride goes to the bridegroom's house and the wedding ceremony begins with her arrival there. In the night that the bride goes to the house of the bridegroom a red chanticleer, *Aak-lui-san*, is ritually killed personally by the household priest as the means of legitimizing the marriage. By this rite the bride is totally absorbed into the patrician clan of her husband and whereby she forsakes her descent clan. The ritual killing of the red chanticleer marks the sealing upon the bride the stamp of her husband ancestry and the two become one in it. In the same idea, *Ton'* rite marks the spiritual union between the husband and the wife. The way and manner in which the wooden pillar and the bamboo tree are ritually treated suggests as if the wooden pillar represents the husband and the leafy tree represents the wife, and the plantation of the bamboo tree jointly with the pillar symbolizes the spiritual marriage of the wife to the husband. The sacred rite further involves the cultural concept that *Ton'* sacrifice is made to perpetuate the married life of the couple not only in this earthly world but also in the next spiritual realm. It is believed that in the event of the death of one of the couple who had made *Ton'* sacrifice, she or he may be waiting for the other in the next world to be reunited there.⁴⁵

Tradition maintains that female is inferior to male by birth. The fowl rite symbolizes the adoption of a new clan by the wife while she retains her inferior nature to her husband. But after *Ton'* feast, the wife is not only reckoned as of real descent of the same ancestry

45. The cultural concept of *Ton'* feast is portrayed in a verse of the feasting songs which is composed by Thang Ciin in mourning over the demise of her husband Tawng Phut. It is said that Tawng Phut was ill of dying, then he was advised by his relatives to offer *Ton'* sacrifice. But he insisted that he would surely die if he did so. Against his will, Tawng Phut gave the feast. Shortly after the *Ton'*'s ceremony, Tawng Phut did die. Then his wife Thang Ciin mourned over the untimely death of her husband, saying thus:

- (a) Laukha hualna daipi gua aw,
Patpuan bang mual man lo e.
- (b) Patpuan bang mual man lo a,
Tuklu kaihdial tunga phialva laam bang e.

- (a) The leaves of the bamboo tree by which
We thread our souls tied together
Has not yet withered.
- (b) It has not yet withered,
But the funeral flags are soon flapping
Like the swallows above.]

(Note : The Tedim funeral is marked by hoisting of what may be called flags of white, red, and black colour representing elephant, tiger, wild yak and mithun or horse respectively. generally a flag is about twelve inches wide and about twenty feet long, made with cloth).

with her husband, she is also conferred with the status of male gender or manhood, manhood in the sense that she is considered and treated as a man of her husband's ancestry even while she is in her womenhood in the sense of human being. In the event of her death, she is given the honour and respect reserved to man in her funeral ceremony. Thus *Ton'* rite makes a married woman equal to her husband in descent and in gender. Therefore, *Ton'* sacrifice could not be made by one alone, but by a couple of married man and woman. Giving a *Ton'* feast is thus a noble feast in the married life of a couple. It promotes them to the highest social status and gives them deep feeling of satisfaction in the social and religious life of the couple.

The oneness of the husband and wife in a married life is tied in love and faithfulness. The spiritual tie between the wife and husband or between the mother and the father of a family is established by the rite of anointing blood upon the married couple who holds the feast. The married relation of the wife with the husband can be likened to the relation of man with God in the Christian belief. Man is treated by God as righteous inspite of his being a sinner in so far as he is in Christ or in so far as he believes in Christ. In the same idea, the wife is accepted and treated as of the same descent and as of equal status with her husband in so far as she is faithful to her husband. This idea affects the oneness of the wife with her husband in one ancestry. It is true that the husband has the exclusive right to divorce his wife; but he can only legitimately exercise this right on condition that his wife is unfaithful to him. So all this tradition shows that the *Ton'* pillar represents the symbol of the ancestry to which the husband and the wife commonly belong and with which their lives are tied together in love and faithfulness.

There is a good reason to suppose that the pillar tradition was handed down from time immemorial. But it is not certainly known when and how Zo adopted the hornbill tradition. There is mention of a cruel wife of a legendary connection of *Ton'* with hornbill bird. The story relates that the hornbill bird as it alighted on the bamboo tree distributed its feathers so that the participants in the feast could adorn themselves with the feathers in commemoration of the *Ton'* feast⁴⁶. The loyalty of the wife to her husband who made the *Ton'* feast is likened to an identified with the faithfulness of the female hornbill to the male hornbill⁴⁷. People are adorned with hornbill feather at festivals in symbolic representation of the *Ton'* feast. The dead who had performed or entertained *Ton'* feast in his or her life time is offered hornbill feathers. According to tradition, marriage is regarded as a kind of contract based on love and loyalty, and is considered to be 'unbreakable' or 'inseparable' except by the event of death. With reference to this traditional background a Tedim saying goes as thus: *Sialkop gosa nupa zong kikhen thei ci*". It means "It is said that even the couple who had performed or enter the sacrifice of couple mithun (*Ton'* feast) can separate". The saying is usually quoted at the time of despair to justify the failure in the persuasion of a returning wife (*numei ciah*) to come back.

The idea of faithfull life exemplified in the married life of the hornbill is taken as the symbolic expression of the love for one's wife who is likened and referred to as

46. "Zi Gilo Tangthu "(The Story of Cruel Wife), *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dialect), No. 4.

47. See Appendix - IX, "The Hornbill Emblem".

hornbill⁴⁸. Regarding the cultural concept that is associated with Ton' feast, Hau Dam composed a song in which he says that he consummate Ton' feast in consideration for his wife.

- (a) *Kawi a ding ci'n len sesing aw,
ka sumtual ah suang ing e.*
- (b) *Von a ding ci'n kamkei hang aw,
ka khuamual ah suang ing e.*
- [(a) For my wife, I have set up
the Ton Pillar in my courtyard.
(b) For my son, I have perched the head
Of the fierce tiger on my memorial pillar.]

Tradition regards hornbill as a noble bird. Its nobility lies in the sense of faithfulness it gives to its married life. Therefore, hornbills are appreciated as a beautiful image associated with dignity and honour with which the Zos identify their cultural life. So the physical image of hornbill is adopted to symbolize the dignity and honour that the Zo's simple life expresses in cultural life. Relating to this tradition, J. Suan Za Dong describes the cultural beauty of the hornbill in identifications with Zo(Chin) people and their State as thus :

*Two Hornbills stately and dignified
For loyalty and honour so proudly pose,
Symbolizing CHIN culture rich and sound
Splendours of our State; fresh like rose
Scenic beauties and flowers in our land abound*

Its cultural background as already been mentioned above shows that Ton' sacrifice is not performed just to attain social prestige. It is associated with a wider and deeper meaning in the Zo cultural life. The erection of the Ton' Pillar at the centre of the house court yard marks the historic event where the mother and the father of a household become one in an ancestry. The Pillar on the one hand bears the image of the ancestor to which the members of the *Tanu-Beh* relatives or the familial relatives commonly belong in one ancestry. This ancestry is symbolized by the physical image of the Ton' Pillar which reigns at the centre of the ground called *Inn-tual* in symbolizing the sovereignty of the household with the house compound, the inviolable ground.

The Sacred Concept of Zo House

Zo house has been mentioned as not merely the roofed building that provides shelter; but the entire area that is fenced around called *Innhuang* in Tedim. As the area

48. There was once a man named Thual Cin who married a woman named Ciin Nian of the same village against the consent of his parents and relatives. To his sorrow, Ciin Nian died soon after she had born two daughters. Thual Cin mourned over the untimely death of his wife. He composed a song in which he compares his love as thus :

- (a) *Len heisa aw phualngo no aw,
Lungdeih a zingzin sa'ng e.*
- (b) *Zingzin hi lo ka anglai pan
Len heisa tual a kia e.*
- [(a) Like orchid, O my hornbill,
I take you to be on travel.
(b) Not on travel, but the orchid
In my arm has dropped down.]

of the spiritual influence of the village altar is considered as independent, sacred, and inviolable, the household compound within the spiritual influence of the household altar is also considered the same. According to this concept, a household society looks like a federating state of the Tual State in the modern political conception. There are some elements of tradition which reveal the spiritual concept of Zo house. It has been mentioned that the house building cannot be altered. So the building itself is sacred.

The cultural realm of Zo society is likened to the idea of being clean. The cleanliness of either the communal society or the family society is described in terms of water. Sometimes, people use to wash their physical body with the waters of flowing stream and river. As one sinks into the water, he usually use to say, "May all the evil spirits upon me be removed and from now on, may I be clean like water"⁴⁹. Some sacrificial custom also contains the rite of being sanctified with water. For instance, the Front Door Spirit (*Baangtung* or *Baangkua*) involves the rite of partaking sanctified water; the giver of Ton' Feast abstains from drinking *gamtui*, country water; and so forth. The healthy condition of the family or the community is described as *tui bang siang* literally meaning 'as clean as water' or 'clean like water'. According to tradition, the absence of Dawi, the absence of demonic influence, in family or community is likened to the cleanliness of water. A Tedim folksong sings,

*Kum kikhen e solkha dang e,
Zin in vangkhua zong hen guai aw e.
Zin in vangkhua zong hen guai aw,
Sian sung tui bang siang leng guai aw e.*

[The year has passed and the new moon has come
Let the demons go back to their abode.
Let the demons go back to their abode,
So that we may be as clean as water.]

Water is thus used for the symbolic expression of the idea associated with spiritual healthiness. This tradition is found akin to the Hebraic usage as "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all uncleanness" (Ezek.36:25). Today, the Roman Catholic Church still practises this ancient rite of sprinkling of water, and the Baptist Church, too, retains the rite as a symbolic baptism with the Holy Spirit. According to the biblical tradition, water is viewed as the symbol of Yahweh's salvation as it is found in Isa.12:3 which reads, "to draw water from the wells of salvation". Water is also considered as Yahweh's Word the absence of which is likened to the idea of 'thirst' and 'famine' (Amos. 8:11). This theme finds its new expression in the teachings of Jesus, who, at Jacob's well, promises to provide with 'living water' in the drinking of which man would never thirst, for it would become in him 'a spring of water welling up to eternal life" (Jn.4:10-15).

In Tedim practice, the ideal image of Khua(village), that is, what has feeling soul, and the innate world, is referred to as *Khua leh Tui*, literally Village and Water. In the poetic form village is referred to as *Tui*. For example, Tedim town is *Dim-tui*; Mualbem is *Beem-tui*, Saizang village is *Sai-tui*; Suangpi village is *Suang-tui*, etc. Pu Lam Tuang, the co-founder of Suangpi settlement, is more exact and specific in identifying his birth

49. The Tedim usage goes as thus : "Ka ci tunga dawileeng kauleeng aw kin un; tu ni a kipan, hi tui sian bangin siang ding hi-ing".

place with Zo-tui⁵⁰, which means the native place that the people of Zo inhabit. Zo society is, therefore, analogous with water.

The ritual abstention from drinking *gam-tui*, the water of outside the village, by the Ton' sacrificer suggests that not all waters are considered as clean; the home water alone is deemed clean. Of all the home waters, the *Kongkuang-tui*, the trough water, is associated with the idea of cleanliness or sacredness. It has been mentioned that the adversary (*gaal*) cannot be killed as an enemy in the event that he has already drunk the *Kongkuang-tui*. The tradition specifically refers to the *Kongkuang-tui* and not any water in general within the Tual territory. The *Kongkuang-tui* which lies within the house compound exclusively belongs to the family which lives on it. The drinking of *Kongkuang* involves the idea of sharing the living water with the family whereby he is reckoned as one of the member of the family. This element of tradition emanates the concept of sacredness within the entire tribal community.

And, again the main pillars (*sut*) of the house building have been mentioned as representing the altars of the household sacrifices. Relating to the traditional concept of these posts, a unique instance is worthwhile to be mentioned. When two tribes or two villages were at enmity and either one of two sides wanted peace, the village that wanted peace initiated to negotiate peace. In such case, the village which took the initiative had to send an emissary to the village with which the peace was to be negotiated. On his way or on arrival the peace negotiator could very well be killed; there was no guarantee for the safety of his life. So the peace making was a risky one and a great undertaking which demanded the sacrifice of human life. The man who was sent as the peace mission was called *Tong-ciin* (Emissary) in Tedim. The *Tong-ciin* would go directly to the village. The emissary would never expect to be cordially welcome; his fate absolutely depended upon the mood and attitude of the village concerned. If he could have entered the house compound of the tribal chief and could he have drunk the water in the trough or could he have embraced the house centre pillar *Sut* or *Sut-pi* then he was reckoned as Tual. Tradition does not specify which pillar was to be embraced. The rite of embracing the pillar is called *Sut-pom* in the Northern Zo terminology.

This Zo rite regarding the initiation of peace and traditional concept of the house compound strikingly resemble the Hebrew concept of the 'city of refuge'. The tradition says, "...that the man slayer who kills any person without intend or wittingly may flee there; they shall be for you a refuge from the avenger of blood". (Josh.20:3) The house compound at the centre of which is erected the ancestral pillar called *Ton-song* or *Pu-sha-song* purports as if exhibiting the spiritual sense of holy ground and as symbolizing the idea of peace in similar tradition of the court of the house of LORD, the holy ground and the murder of Zechariah in that ground, being avenged by the LORD (2Chron.24:21.22). So the Ton' pillar standing at the middle of the house compound looks like the symbol of peace.

50. Lam Tuang utters thus : "Mim bang pian' na Kal-tui vangkhua theih loh a tuang nu siang e. Taang bang khan na Zo-tui vangkhua nih thum hai bang ngak sak aw" (I left Kal-zang of my birth place before I could memorize. Let some of my kinsmen remain in the place where I grew up)

And, again, at times the pillar looks like the symbol of holiness. The ritual account relating to the peace making tradition, the rite of embracing the *Sut*, shows that the act of embracing the post was done as a show of surrender and submission to the village with which the man on the mission was at enmity. Zo tradition also has it that a Tual murderer embraced the chief post as the means of declaring his wrongful deed and the repentance for it and as seeking forgiveness. This element of tradition identifies the cheif post like the one that had the authority to accept a sin offering and to forgive sinful deeds in similar tradition which says thus :

Seven days you shall make atonement for the altar, and consecrate it, and the altar shall be most holy; whatever touches the altar shall become holy (Exod.29:37).

All this instance of tradition suggests that pillar whether of house main post or of sacrificial post bears the spiritual symbol of holiness in its social expression.

APPENDIX - VII

Zo Custom of Divine Rites

by
Rev. Thang Kam

Zo customary law practises a procedure which can be called "Divine Rites". These rites were performed in connection with the disputes over truth. This custom has its root in the belief that there exists an unseen power which has always been sustaining truth. Where witnessess failed to provide the judge with factual evidence the case was referred to divine intervention and the rites of seeking divine decision were conducted. The divine rites involved risking one's life that it was taken as a convincing evidnce in the law-court. It was believed that divine decision prevailed upon the false statement in the form of serious illness or sudden death or any form of misfortunes. This was considered as divine penalty for the false witness and held as the final judgement against which no one could appeal to secular court. The most significant rites were *Suangto peh*, *Tuikul tuahna*, and *Tuisia-nekna*.

Suangto pehna is literally the rite of biting stone. So it is simply the rite of "Stone-bite" and is the custom of swearing by the Earth. The rite is generally performed in the case of disputes over the possession of land. The village chief or the village headman was by virtue of office the village judge and his residential house served as the law-court. The judge sometimes used to go to the field and examined the case on ground. Where no clear evidence was given either in support of or against the claim, the judge usually called for the plaintiff to swear by biting stone. Sometime inspite of clear evidence, for or against the claim any of the persons to the dispute could propose the rite to be performed.

In early days, the rite required the village priest to solemnize the ritual performance, but later the judge himself administered it. He took a piece of stone from the ground and made him bite it into pieces after instructing him to say thus : "Khemna thu zuauna thu ka gen taak a leh, leimuat suangmuat in muat ning" (I should be rotten like the rotten soil and stone if I tell lie). The case was decided in favour of the swearing, and the court fees and all other expenses for the case were incurred by the opponent in the law-suit. Where both parties to the dispute took the stone-bite rite, the case was decided at the end of the ritual period abstention which lasted for three months. During the prescribed period of time, both the plaintiff and the defendant were required to abstain from going out journey, from making sacrifice to spirits, and from meeting each other. The case was decided against the one upon whom the divine judgement was passed. Where nothing happened to either one or where the divine judgement prevailed upon both, the disputed land was divided or where the divine judgement prevailed upon both, the disputed land was divided equally between the two swearers and all the expenses were equally met by them.

Tuikul tuahna literally means the rite of reaching the river-bed. As the Zo word **Tuikul** means deep water or whirlpool, the rite can also be referred to as the rite of reaching the bottom of the whirlpool. This rite was also the custom of swearing by Whirlpool which was believed to be the sanctuary of the river gods. This customary rite was practised in the areas of Tedim, Matupi, and Paletwa. It was resorted to mostly in connection with disputes over land boundary between fields or village tracts. The initiation of the performance of the rite was preceded by a bet between the two opposing contenders as to who reached the bottom of the river-pool. In most instances, the whirlpool which took its sources from the land boundary in dispute was chosen for the ritual performance.

In order to avoid a coincidence of the day on which the village officers came to the place of the ritual performance with the day on which the rite was administered, both opposing contenders went beforehand and arrived at the place one day ahead. Each of them was required to bring a fowl each for the sacrifice to the river gods. The ritual dive into the water was preceded by an offering of the fowl each of the divers. The priest said his placation to such deities as the sun, the moon, the rivers, the mountain, the ancestral gods, and so forth, asking them to disclose the truth in connection with the dispute. After making his offering for the plaintiff the priest ordered him to dive first. This was followed by the same ritual proceeding for the defendant. Each diver was required to enter into the water until he reached the bottom and to come back bringing with him a stone picked up from the water-bed as the evidence for his reach of the water-bed. The diver was connected with a rope tied to his waist. The attendants over the bank were seeing to the outcome of the dive as they were holding the rope of the other part. The diver gave a pull at the rope after he had reached the water-bed and the attendants on the rope drew him out of the water.

The belief was that the diver whose claim was lawful and legitimate did reach right away the bottom and back with the required stone; but the diver whose statement was against the truth could not descend and was floating over the water. The case was decided in favour of the one who was successful in the ritual contest. The loser had to pay the winner what they had betted for. In the event of a draw, all the expenses for the ritual administration were borne by both the contenders.

Tuisia nekna literally means the drinking of the "cursed water". Unlike the simple rite of "stone-bite", this rite was considered as the most solemn and efficacious one of all the divine rites. The rite was resorted to in regard with disputes over the possession of land. The disputes usually arose between villages after the British administration defined the village tracts. Entering into this rite was considered as a matter of life and death, and the rite was held as a divine supreme court.

The village priest, the judge, the village officers, and the members of the two parties to the dispute were required to be present in the ritual performance and to witness what was done. The rite was administered at the place of the village Tual, the village altar. In early days, the skull of the dead was used for the cup of the cursed water called *Tuisia-Aibuk-tawi* in Tedim. But later a gourd scoop was used for it. The scoop was filled with water into which was dropped the teeth of tiger and bear, and charcoal, all dreadful, representing natural powers harmful to human being. The priest cursed the scoop thus filled and invoked all deities of Zo worship to disclose the truth in the dispute by prevailing as tiger or as bear to tear up the false witness and as calamities attending him and his family. Then the priest made the plaintiff drink the scoop first and the defendant drink it next.

The rite required both parties to observe certain rules. After they had drunk the cursed scoop, they should go back right away to their respective home not calling on at other houses on their way home. They should keep themselves at home for the period of three months during which they should not make any sacrifice to spirit; they should abstain from taking medicines and from sharing meals and drink with each other. The judge closely looked into whether these rules were strictly abided by. The judge after prescribed period decided the case according to the revelation of the divine judgements. No one could appeal the judge's decision unless there was any complaint relating to the ritual observation of the rules.

In 1938, a dispute arose between the house of Kham Kam of Naulak clan in Phunom village and Lam Khai of the same clan in the same village over the claim of the plot of field. The Chief of the Sukte tract in the Tedim Sub-division was then Thuam Za Mang of Mualbem. His office was the supreme court and he was the chief justice. He was to settle the dispute and ordered to administer the rite of *Tuisia nekna* in his presence. So the rite was performed at Phunom Tual and was attended by the Chief, the village headman, the village priest, and all the village elders. Two persons, one from each party were chosen by the party concerned to drink the scoop on behalf of their respective families. Kham Kam was chosen to represent his family to drink the cursed water. (A personal interview with U Tual Cin, the son of U Kham Kam who drank the cup).

During the time when Za Pau of Mualbem was the Chief of Sukte tract, a dispute arose between Dimpi village headed by Pau Suang, the village chief, and Phunom headed by En Son over the claim of the present *Taam-gam* (zo part) in Phunom village tract by Pau Suang. The Mualbem Chief authorized Thuam Thawng, the Saizang chief, to settle the case. The court sitting in Suangpi village decided the case to be referred to the divinerite of *Tuisia nekna*. As a rule of tradition, the rite was to be administered at the Suangpi Tual. On objection by the Suangpi leaders, the rite was performed at the foot that the divine decision prevailed against the Dimpi village, causing the death of over ten men which led Pau Suang to move to Kaptel to found there his own dominion. ("Suangpi Mualsuang", p.117).

APPENDIX - VIII

Names of Dawi (gods or evil spirits)

The Rite

1. Tual Biakna
2. Ai Tin Sam
3. Han Tuibuak(Guah-ngetna)
4. Keel-ip
5. Kuut pawi
6. Pueai Sam
7. Mu Sip Thawi
8. Kongpui Hon
9. Khawflang Rai
10. Pu-sha Biak
11. Ton
12. Sumtawng
13. Huan Mui biak
14. Kalzang Dawi
15. Baantung dawi
16. Baangkua Hon Tanghawm
17. Innteek dawi
18. Si-an-siah
19. Ki mit-et
20. Sakung dawi
21. Hnuaijui
22. Hnuaita
23. Cung Lam Thawi
24. Sial dawi
25. Meikiang/Hausa
26. Gampi dawi
27. Gun Lam
28. Luipi/Khuulpi
29. Lotui/Daiput
30. Gam Nuh
31. Singsia
32. Innbuuk Mual Biakna
33. Kha Kham
34. Khang Sang
35. Kong Niam
36. Siam Thoih
37. Kaih
38. Pu Len
39. Kikhakhusp
40. Aak-at (Ling)
41. Kongsak An Kha
42. Kauvei
43. Ngil
44. Ciampal
45. Aisa dawi-Dawisia
46. Kongsang Davi
47. Kong Sawl Tun
48. Khiangsum
49. Vabu Vehl
50. Phai Kham
51. Khiangpi
52. Gamtaaang
53. Mual Mong
54. Singsia

The area of its administration

This list of Dawi is taken from "The Record of Folk Religion in Tedim Sub-divisional Area" by U Son Cin Lian, February 2, 1968.

APPENDIX - IX

The Hornbill Emblem

by Gal Ngam

The effigy of the hornbill is used by Chin State People's Council for the State emblem. The emblem was adopted on the unanimous recommendation of all Township People's Councils within the State in identification of Zo cultural life with the noble image of the hornbill.

All sources of Zo tradition commonly say that hornbills are noble birds. According to tradition they lead a married life just as men are doing. Like man, the bride is taken from the distant place and brought to the bridegroom. While laying egg the female bird is enclosed within a fence so that it cannot move and it is fed mouth by the male bird. If any sign of destruction is found with the fence the female bird is accused of being unfaithful and is pecked to death by the male bird. It is said that if one of the couple died the living one also killed itself. Hornbills are never known to destroy the crops in the field nor live on flesh; but they live only on fruits.

Therefore, they are viewed as sacred and noble - sacred in the sense that they live a simple life. They are noble because they live the beautiful life characterized by love and faithfulness. Thus hornbills are much respected and honoured by the Zos. According to tradition marriage is regarded as a kind of contract tied with love and loyalty. Thus a marriage is considered to be 'unbreakable' or 'inseparable' except by the event of death. A wife cannot be divorced so long as she remains faithful to her husband. This idea of a faithful life expressed in the married life of the hornbill is taken as the symbolic expression of the love for one's wife who is likened and referred to as a hornbill. Zo people proudly put on hornbill feathers on important occasions in self-identification with the dignity and honour that the hornbill exemplifies. J. Suan Za Dong once described the cultural beauty of the hornbill in identification with Chin people and their State as thus :

Two hornbills stately and dignified,
For loyalty and honour so proudly pose
Symbolizing CHIN in culture rich and sound
Splendours of our State; fresh like a rose
Scenic beauties and flowers in our land abound.

Based on this traditional background, the physical image of the hornbill has been adopted to symbolize the dignity and honour that the Zo's simple life expresses. The emblem has been chosen to signify the 'inseparable tie' existing between the Zos and other national groups of the Union, and in reflection of Zo traditional loyalty to the historical community named the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma.

APPENDIX-X

Zo Sanctuary

The word 'sanctuary' is defined in dictionary as a "sacred place; a temple or church, especially the part near the altar". Therefore, *Tual*, the place of Zo village sacrifice, may be equivalent to sanctuary. Zo sanctuary can be classified into the Northern type and the Southern type. The Southern type does not have such a sanctuary as that of the Northern at the centre of the village. The type as practised by the Kanpetlets (the Chos) can be taken as the sample for the Southern type. On May 29, 1983, a household in Kanpetlet town in Southern Chin State made a grand feast of mithun sacrifice. The feast was marked by the carrying of stones from stream. The feast is likewise called *Kyauk-pyin-thee-pwe* in Burmese 'the feast of carrying stones'. The stones were used for erecting altar-like the platform which were constructed off ground about two feet whereby creating a hollow space under the capstone. The feast was a sacrificial ceremony like the *Ton' Feast* in Tedim area and it involved the rite of smearing the blood of the victim on the capstone of the platform, in the same rite as "The priest received the blood and threw it against the altar"(2Chron.29:22). How many one can erect depends on how many mithun he had already sacrificed in feasts in the same practice in Tedim area relating to the number of *Ton'* pillar. For instance, if one had already sacrificed previously, he is entitled to erect more than one in the next feast. Generally one mithun was represented by one platform.

The idea behind the erection of the platform is connected with the tradition of the tribe. A platform represents the generation of the person who erects it in the clan genealogical order. So the numerical number of platforms erected in succession from the past represents the tables of the clan genealogy. This Zo tradition bring to one's mind the Hebrew tradition."and took up twelve stones out the midst of the Jordan, according to the number of the tribes of the people of Israel"(Josh.4:8). In a way it resembles the *Mual-suang*, translated as 'Memorial of the one who erects it or in whose name it is erected'. In the Tedim poetic form this stone is described as *Mual-lum-suang* which is closely similar to their words *lungm-suang* for the stone platform. So the terms *lung* in the Lai dialect, *suang* in Tedim, *saung* in both Burmese and Cho, all commonly refer to rock or stone.

The funeral rites in Kanpetlet area include the custom of burning the dead and of keeping the ashes in an urn under the capstone of the platform. Similarly, the Tedim custom, too, use to keep the skull of the dead under capstone of the stone platform constructed in the same structure with that in the Kanpetlet area. All this cultural practice strongly suggests that the stone platform built in the likeness of altar with a hollow space underneath it reflects the pattern of the ancient tomb on the mountaintop where the dead bodies of the celestial rulers were buried. The tomb-altar was thus viewed as linking the tribe with the ancestor. Although no proper study has yet been made, *Jokhang*, the

Temple at Lhasa in Tibet, may have meant Jo Genealogy since *khang* is genealogy in Tedim. There is, therefore reason to derive that the stone altar in Zo tradition symbolizes genealogy in the same tradition which says, "There were twelve tribes with their names according to the names of the son of Israel" (Exod.39:14). The stones representing the twelve tribes are only onyx stone which Zo regarded as most valuable like the gold and the silver of today. The tradition that monkey and a she-demonic rock were the Tibeto-Burman ancestors vividly recalls "You were unmindful of the Rock that begot you and you forgot the God who gave you birth" (Deut.32:18). According to all this element of tradition, it looks as if the Tibetan legendary place Zothang where the ancestors (Monkey and Rock) were meted out purports the reminiscence of the event on Sinai or Horeb where Yahweh revealed himself in association with Rock. So according to Zo tradition, Rock or stone represents the ethnology of the people who call themselves Zo. Hence Zo origin myth says "The Lailun Rock issued the first human ancestors".

What has been mentioned and discussed leads one to conclude that Yahweh revealed himself in association with mountain which consisted of rock and cave. The glory of Yahweh permeated spiritual energy into the mountain, the rock, and the cave to be handed down as separate deities. But one thing still remains uncertain whether the splitting divine energy was later transmuted chthonic force or whether the Earth cult was annexed by the Yahweh's glory.

Tual precinct that was hallowed by the stone altar and the wooden pillar represents the communal sanctuary. It was the cultural centre with which the entire community was linked. Such important undertakings as hunt, raid, etc. were preceded by divination at the sanctuary and the human heads obtained in revenge were referred back to it. The stone altar and the wooden or stone pillar represent the religious shrines. Each of these shrines bears significant feature of belief.

Like other mankind, Zo people, too, have the belief in the existence of an unseen power that controls the future events. Tradition, however, does not clearly conceptualize what was the deity which controlled the future. Though *pasian* and *lungzai* represent the supreme deities of the universe, neither of them is told to have revealed itself either in dream or vision in like manner as Yahweh did to the patriarchs in Hebrew tradition. There are some elements of tradition in which the stone altar was pictured as the unseen power behind the future course. For instance, the Suante clan chronicle tells a story in which Suan Kai, the tribal chief of Kalzang village-state, in his boyhood had a dream while he fell asleep on the capstone of the Tual altar, and the dream was interpreted as an omen for his future greatness. The dream symbol is told as this : Suan Kai was an orphan and grew up under the care of his Pu, Mang Sum of Buansing clan. (Pu here refers to his mother's father or brother). Mang Sum was the village priest of Phaipi settlement - a settlement place before Kalzang. One day Suan Kai followed his Pu, Mang Sum to the Tual sacrifice. The ritual service in the night was too long that Suan Kai fell asleep on the stone platform and he was left there one alone through the whole night. At the night Suan Kai dreamed that his sperm flowed out and the sperms were transformed into *Huang-huang*, a kind of ant. In the next morning Suan Kai woke up and went back home and told about his dream to his Pu who charged him not to tell his dream to others because his dream was a good one.

To mention another instance, the Tedim custom has an annual festival which involved the rite of divination by reading the natural formation of bee-hive and the festival was concluded by referring the bee-hive to the Tual sanctuary where the ritual reception of it was performed. The bee-hive named *Ngaltun* or *Ngalthen* taken from the jungle was first brought to the Mual where the reading of it was done. It was brought to the Tual where it was received with ritual singing and dancing. The ritual songs were sung by two groups in alternate responses. One group called *a teng* sang first: *Ka lo paam a khuai aw e sim ngalthen, nang in kumkhoa na thei a kong dong e.* (O the bee, *ngalthen* near my field, you know the future that I inquire of you). Then the other group sang in response : *Sanpi sanno na huai leh na kik aw, mim leh sawmtaang na huai leh hong pai aw.* (Better return back if you are of ill-omen; but come in if you portend good harvest).

Zo pillar bears the symbol of territorial sovereignty. As a traditional rule, pillar in the pattern of memorial monument couldnot be set up on the soil of other village tracts. To quote an instance, Awn Sing of Thangnuai belonged to the Suantak clan in Khuasak. During the period of his grandfather, his family move to Thangnuai from Khuasak. Inspite of the separate territory of Thangnuai village from Khuasak's Awn Sing set up a memorial stone of pillar on the territorial area of Khuasak. Awn Sing did this to witness his nativity that belonged to Khuasak. Similar sense of tradition is mentioned in the account of Joshua. The Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh copied and built altar of the LORD 'at the frontier of the land, in the region about the Jordan, on the side that belonged to the people of Israel' (Josh. 22:11). The building of altar on the land that belonged to Israel was considered by the Israelite people to be a rebellion against the LORD and was strongly objected (Josh.22:10- 20). The copy of the altar of the LORD was built as a memorial stone to witness the kinship between the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh and the people of Israel (Josh. 22:20-29). The half-tribe of Manasseh and their allies said that they built the altar of the LORD not as a rebel against the LORD, but to say to their descendants in time to come in case the Israelites say, "You have no portion in the LORD" as this, "Behold the copy of the altar of the LORD, which our fathers made, not for burnt offerings, nor for sacrifice, but to be a witness between us and you"(Josh. 22:28). Therefore, Zo sacrificial pillar standing at the centre of the village compound signifies the solidarity of the tribal society and the sovereignty of the Tual territorial area that was ritually defined. Thus tradition regards an aggression of one's territory as a sinful act (Deut.27:17).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1972.

Burma Socialist Programme Party (B.S.P.P.) Headquarters. *Myanmar*
Naingan Taing-yin-tha Yien-kyi-hmu Yoyar Dali Htone-san-Mya (Chin) [The Cultures and Customs of the Indigenous Races of the Union of Burma (Chin)]. Rangoon: B.S.P.P. press, 1963.

B.S.P.P. *Customs of the Indigenous Races (Chin)*. Rangoon: Burmese Literature Society Press, 1963.

B.S.P.P. *The System of Correlation of Man and His Environments*. Rangoon: B.S.P.P. Press, 1963.

B.S.P.P. *The View and Conviction of the Revolutionary Council of the Union of Burma Concerning the Affairs of the National Groups*. Rangoon: Sapay Beikman Press, 1982.

Carey, Bertram S. & H.N.Tuck. *The Chin Hills*, 2 vols. Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1896.

East, Revn.Dr. E.H. *Burma Manuscript*, compiled by Tim Marsh, duplicated and distributed by C.Thang Za Tuan, Head Master of Falam High School, Chin State, 1983.

Fitzgerald C.P. *China: A Short Cultural History*. New York: Fredric A. Praeger Inc. 1961.

Forchhammer, Dr. Emil. *The Jardine Prize*. Rangoon : Government Printing Press, 1884.

Gill, Captain William. *The River of Golden Sand*, 2 vols, with an introductory essay by Col. Yule. London: John Murray, 1880.

Gin Za Tuang, J. *Zomi Innkuan Laibu* (History of Zomi Family). Tedim: 1973.

Government of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma. *Achay-pya Myanmar Nainganyae Thamaing* (Outline of the Burmese Political History) 2 vols. Rangoon: Sapay Beikman Printing Press., 1971.

Government of the Union of Burma. *Burma Handbook*. Simla: 1934.

Grant, Brown, G.E.R. *Burma Gazetteer, Upper Chindwin District*, Vol-A Rangoon: Superintendent of Government Printing Press and Stationery, 1911, reprinted 1960.

Green, Captain J.H. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol XI, Part I. A Report by I.J.Bennison, "A Note on the Indigenous Races of Burma". Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1931.

Grierson, G.A. ed. *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1904, Vol III, Part III "Specimens of the Kuki-Chin and Burma Group". Calcutta: Government Printing Press, 1904.

Hammond. *Medallion World Atlas*. "Medo-Babylonian Realm".

Havell, E.B. *A History of India*, 2 vols. New Delhi: Swaran Press, 1979.

Herrmann, Siegfried. *A History of Israel in the Old Testament Time*. Philadelphia : First American Edition by Fortress Press, 1959.

Ignatius, Rev. Marshal Harry. *The Karen People of Burma*. Columbus: Columbus University Press, 1922.

Kamkhenthang, H. *The Paité*. Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988.

Khup Za Go, Rev. *Chin Chronicles*. Churachandpur: L & R Printing Press, 1988.

Khup Za Thang, K.A. *Zo Suanh Khang Simna Laibu* (Genealogy of the Zo-Chin of Burma). Rangoon: Taungtan Press, 1974.

Lalthangliana, B. *History of Mizo in Burma*. Calcutta : New Alipore, 1977.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *The Chinese: Their History and Culture*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, 1946 and 1964.

Lattimore, Owen. *Inner Asian Frontiers of China*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

Lehman, F.K. *The Structure of Chin Society*. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1963.

Li, Dun J. *The Ageless Chinese A History*. New York: 2nd edition Charles Scriber's Sons, 1965, 1971.

Lowis, C.C. *The Tribes of Burma*. "Ethnological Survey of India". Rangoon: Government Printing Press, 1949.

Luce, Gordon H. *Phase of Pre-Pagan Burma*, 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Naylor, L.B. *A Practical Handbook of the Chin Language*. (Siyin Dialect).

Padhuma, Ashin. *Kalemyo Thamaing* (The History of Kalemyo) n.d.

Phayre, Sir Arthur P. *History of Burma*. London: Santiago de Compostela, 2nd edition, 1967.

Rioler, Vivien. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. London: Oxford University Press, 1933, 1961.

Roy, Jyotirmoy. *History of Manipur*. Calcutta: Firma, 1958.

Sangermano, Rev. Father. *A Description of Burmese Empire*, trans by William

Tandy, DD.Rome : Parbury, Allen & Co. MDCCCXXXIII,
reprinted at the Government Printing Press, Rangoon, MDCLXXXV.

Shakaphah, Tsepah, W.D. *Tibet: A Political History*. New Haven and London :
Yale University Press, 1967.

Shakespear, Lt. Col. J. *The Lushai Kuki Clans*, Part I & II. Bungay Suffolk: Richard
Clay and Sons Ltd. reprinted by the Tribal Research Institute, Mizoram :
Aizawl, 1975.

Stein, Dr. R.A. *Tibetan Civilization*. London : Faber and Faber Ltd. 1972.

Stevenson, H.N.C. *The Economics of the Central Chin Tribes*. Bombay:
The Times of India Press, 1943.

Than Tun, Dr. *Khit-huang Myanmar Yajavun* (The Early History of Burma)
Rangoon: Maha Dagon Publishers, 1969.

Thein Pe Myint, U. *Chin Witha Taing, Thamaing Asa* (The History of Chin Special
Division, Beginning). Rangoon: Sapay Beikman Press, 1987.

Van Bik, Rev. David. *English-Chin(Haka) Dictionary*. Rangoon: Mon-Karen
Printing Press, 1987.

Wales, Quaritch, H.G. *The Mountain of God*. London : New Bond Street, 1953.

Wang Shu-Tang. *China : Land of Many Nationalities*. Peking : Foreign Language
Press, 1955.

Zawla, K. *Mizo Pi Pute Leh An Thlahte Chanchin* (History of Mizo Ancestors and
their Descendants). 3rd edition. Aizawl : H.A. Press, 1981.

B. Encyclopaedia, Regulations, Acts and reports

Burmese Encyclopaedia, s.v. "Chin Special Division".

Encyclopaedia Britannica (Macropaedia)

Encyclopaedia Britannica (Micropaedia)

The Chin Hills Regulation 1896, Article 2(3).

The Chin Special Division Amendment Act, 1957 (Act No. L of 1957)

The Khuangsai Chin Cultural Committee. "The Khuangsai Custom Reward".
A report submitted to the Chin Affairs Council. Yetoh Village, Tamu
Township, 1970.

The Khuangsai Chin Cultural Revival Committee. "A report on 'The History and
Culture of the Khuangsai Chin'", to the Central Security and
Administrative Committee of the Revolutionary Government of the
Union of Burma". Khamti District, 1972.

C. Articles, Magazines and Journals

Begly, Shalom and Jimi Forcous, "The Treasures From a Chinese Tomb",
Newsweek, September 21, 1981.

Burma Baptist Convention, *Judson Day*, Rangoon: Baptist Press, April, 1993.

Kyan, U. "The Chins, The Aspect of Their History and Customary Laws".

Luce, Gordon H. "Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Languages", *Journal of Burma Research Society (JBRS)*, 1959.

Luce, Gordon H. "Geography of Burma Under the Pagan Dynasty", *JBRS*, 1959.

Luce, Gordon H. "The Chin Hills Linguistic Tour (Dec.1954)-University Project", *JBRS*, 1959

Luce, Gordon H. "Old Kyakse and the Coming of the Burmans", *JBRS*, 1959.

Luce, Gordon H. "Note on the People of Burma in the 12th - 13th Century A.D." *JBRS*, 1959.

Thangkhangin. "Zomi Tenna Masa", *Siamsin Pawl Annual Magazine*, 1979 : Churachandpur.

U, Sein Muang U. "A Forgotten City", *The Working Peoples Daily*, Jan. 21 - 23, 1981.

"The 'Golden Mountain' That was Taungpulu Kaba-aye Sayadaw", *The Working Peoples' Daily*, June 25, 1986.

D. Other Sources

Cin Ngaih Pau. *The History of Vangteh Tual*. Vangteh : 1981.

Cope, J.H. "Cing Khup le Ngam Bawm Tangthu", *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dialect) No. 3.

"Neino Tangthu" *Chin Reader* (Kamhau dialect) No. 4.

"Thang Ho le Lian Do Tangthu" *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dialect) No.4.

"Gal Ngam Tangthu". *Chin Reader* (Kamhau Dialect) No.4.

Falam Township Peoples' Council. *Lailun San Thuanthu*. (Memeographed), n.d.

Gin Za That. *Hatlang Beh Tangthu* (The clan chronicle of Hatlang).

Nginh suan, *Kalzang Suante Beh Tangthu* (The chronicle of Kalzang Suante clan) : n.d.

Ngul Khaw Pau, H. *Hatzaw Beh Tangthu* (The chronicle of Hatzaw clan), Tedim : 1970.

Pilot, Captain. *Kamhau Customary Laws*, 1925.

Sing Khaw Khai. *Suangpi Mualsuang* (The Suangpi Chronicle), Suangpi, 1981.

Son Cin Lian. *The Record of Folk Religion in Tedim Sub-Divisional Area*. Tedim : 1968.

Son Cin Lian *Report on the Early History of Tedim Area* (File).

Thang Kam. Rev. *Tedim Gam Sukté Uk leh Dim Mite Tangthu* (The History of Tedim under the Sukté Rule and the Chronicle of Dim tribes).

Thang Tuan, *Khamtung Mite Tangthu* (Personal file) Mualpi, Tedim Township.

Tun Pau. *Suante Beh Tangthu* (the chronicle of the Suante clan), Phunom : 1970.

Zel Khai, Capt. *Khamtung Gam Sung Khuano Kuala Kizang Ngeina Thu leh Late*, Mandalay : The Thukhawaddy Press, 1954.



CORRECTIONS

Page No	Para. No	Line	The Writing	Corrections	90	2nd	5	... the earth were separated ...	... the earth were separated
12	2nd	2	... the thirteen generations	... the thirteenth generations ...	91	2nd	7	... this 'zo nature' and 'cold'...	... this 'zo nature' as 'cold'...
12	3rd	3	... Mat Tuang in placed...	... Mat Tuang is placed ...	99	2nd	5	... Dimpi vilage ...	... Dimpi village ...
15	2nd	5	... Mingsung ...	... Mingaung ...	106	2nd	1	... Khuazing exists is against	... Khuazing exists as against
15	3rd	11	... the Zos form Chin Hills...	... the Zos from Chin Hills ...	107	1st	7	... Khuavak ...	... Khuavak ..
16	3rd	6	... virtue to tradition ...	... virtue of tradition ...	107	2nd	3	... the poetic from of the	... the poetic form of the
28	1st	1	... Van Nawl was so energed	... Van Nawl was so enraged...	107	1st	9	deity...	deity...
28	2nd	6	... there was brought with ..	... there was bought with ...	109	Ft.note-17	3	... suggests as of both ...	... suggests as if both ...
30	2nd	5	... the tribal named Sokte	... the tribal name, Sokte ...				... the Lord to the Earth...	... the Lord of the Earth...
	(quoted)							... Every evening boys and	... Every evening boys and
30	3rd	1	Ko Chim's rule in his latter	Ko Chim's rule in his later				girls noticed that either a boy	girls gathered together to
	(quoted)		years...	years				or a girl was missing every	the <i>Tual</i> , the sacrificial
31	4th	9	... So a brief account of the	... (This whole sentence be				evening.	precinct, dancing and
			cultural and historical develop-	deleted)					playing. It was noticed that
			ment of these unique people is						either a boy or a girl was
			given in a separate sheet under						missing every evening.
			the title "The Confederation of						
			Thuantak Tual State"						
Map of Myanmar			ZO DECENT INTO MYANMAR	ZO DESCENT INTO MYANMAR	110	2nd	4	... the reference point to ...	... the reference points to ...
44	1st	3	... the place was likewise the	... the place was likewise	112	4th	2	... So study needs to be	... So a study needs to be
			discovery of an inscription ...	called Chin-ywa after its				made ..	made...
				founder. Another reportor	113	1st	1	... Shang of an historical ..	... Shang as an historical ...
				is U Khin Maung Than	115	3rd	10	... the reflection of sun of the	... the reflection of sun or the
				who tells the discovery of				flame of fire ...	flame of fire...
				an inscription ...	115	Ft. note-41	2	kan chan say seh, ...	... kan chan sau seh, ...
44	4th	1	... following the trial of one...	... following the trail of one..	116	1st	7	... soul of man after death	... soul of man after death.
45	2nd	9	... Zo highly prized them ...	... Zo highly priced them ...	117	Ft. note-45	21	... and warned Nan Tal	... and warned Nan Tal, saying
45	2nd	12	... highly prized by the Zos...	... highly priced by the Zos				"Nan Tal, beware of the	
50	2nd	5	... "peculiaritly"	... "pecularity"				flying bee into two pieces.	flying bee and smite it.
53	2nd	10	... central Asia as empire of...	... central Asia an empire of...				Nan Tal at Once uncontinued	Then Nan Tal at once
56	1st	4	... which is Giang or Gyang	... which is Giang or Gyang				their way to home.	unsheathed his sword and
			or Gyang in ...	in ...					smote the flying bee into
87	2nd	8	... Zo prince who ruled	... Zo prince who ruled					two pieces. Nan Tal and
			unjustly...	unjustly ...					Nei No continued their way
89	2nd	7	... Zo people brought of East	... Zo people brought to East...	118	1st	5	to home.	to home.
					118	2nd	4	... the idle deity of To...	... the idle deity of To...
								... Since the time onwards...	... Since that time onwards...
								... So a woman to use	... So a woman to use pestle
								pestle was added to the	pestle was added to the family
								family which only one pestle.	which had only one pestle.

118	Ft. note 48	... (Personal interview with the late Gin Lian, 1979)	... (Personal interview with the late U Gin Do Lian, 1979)	135	3rd	5	... Mal-kuth is God's kinship or...	... Mal-kuth is God's kingship or...
119	3rd	3	... a religion to the Zo people through his prophet Pau Cin Hau	136	3rd	2	... that Rauh is God's spirit	... that Ruah is God's spirit...
120	3rd	15	... Their efficency could bring...	137	1st	16	... to be term Huham ...	... to be termed <i>Huham</i> ...
120	Ft. note 55	2	... the remians immune both..	138	3rd	8	... and the scripture refers it	... and the scripture refers its
121	Ft. note 58	1	... hau cin Khup ...	142	1st	10	... In the Dry Delta of Burma,	... In the Dry Belt of Burma,
121	"	5	... "The stool of whom the Chief hau Cin Khup scolded hashly could transmuted into its liquie..	143	1st	5	... in the founding of Sungpi settlement, a black dong was	... in the founding of Suangpi settlement, a black dog was
124	3rd	6	... this site by dry tonight...	152	2nt	4	... a society were to survive.	... a society were to survive.
127	2nd	folksong	... Do you, mother, make me a real shrew?	154	1st	6	... marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister	... marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother,...
128	3rd	2	... in which the Tedim Kha is conception ...	146	2nd	11	... having such a conception..	... having such a conception..
			in which the Tedim <i>Kha</i> is similar to <i>Tha</i> in Karen, and the <i>Tha</i> in Tedim is similar to the <i>K'la</i> in Karen in conception.	146	3rd	6	... to the fact that and outsider	... to the fact that an outsider
129	1st	1	... and places it under the slab of memorial altar: then Nei No's hair from its hiding	147	1st	2	... uterine brother of kindred	... uterine brother or kindred..
			... and places it under the slab of memorial altar; then Nei No suffers from bodily illness but Nei No becomes well again when Tawpi takes out Nei No's hair from its hiding.	147	1st	5	... and should be avenge as duty	... and should be avenged as duty
129	1st	5	... because Ngam Bawm Keeps her hair away,	147	3rd	4	... the judges to pass...	... the judges to pass...
129	2nd	4	... of man's life is which case..	149	1st	5	... be expected to loyal and...	... be expected to be loyal and..
129	Ft. note-9	10	... "Must one day die; were there a place where	149	1st	9	... loyalty and obedience on the part of the idea of the fatherhood of <i>Tual</i>	... loyalty and obedience on the part of the inferiors. The respect and obedience the superiors received owe their legitimacy to the idea of the fatherhood of <i>Tual</i> .
133	Ft. note-17	6	... we have now avenged for yor sack, ...	149	3rd	8	... by the filial between the...	... by the filial tie between the
135	3rd	6	...and is soemtimes used ...	149	4th	9	... drawn from different descent group.	... drawn from different descent groups.
			... we have now avenged for your sake, ...	155	2nd	8	... the functions of council-like...	... the functions of a council-like
			... and is sometimes used ...	152	4th	16	... disobeys his parants is...	... disobeys his parents is...
				153	3rd	2	... to be judge by how it is used. It bears it sinful character...	... to be judged by how it is used. It bears its sinful character...
				153	3rd	7	... to assert that the Hebrews polygamy on the ground that	... to assert that the Hebrews practised polygamy on the ground that...



WITH THIS
THIS PAPERWORK
LEASE RETURN



ZO PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

Zo are one and single people spread in many places and each locality uses one different dialect. All available source material consists of oral tradition, comparative language study, observations made by earlier Chinese officers and recent scholars and at several points one account contradicts another. Collecting and correlating such materials and using them to write a succinct and cohesive cultural and historical account on these people is indeed a very hard task. We thank Sing Khaw Khai very much for having done this admirable work.

Than Tun

○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

*This book is a unique of its kind; a monograph on the roots of **Zo People and Their Culture** traced by a native research scholar. No one has ever contemplated on the implication of etymology on the culture of a race as he did in this book. He came to a conclusion that **Zomi** is the legal and common name of the people.*

C. Thang Za Tuan